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ABSTRACT

Issues and developments concerning the education of Israeli youth in residential schools are summarized in this report of a seminar which brought together educators from the United States and Israel. The first part of the report describes the residential school and gives its history as both part of a long tradition, and as it particularly evolved in the State of Israel. Other aspects of the residential school explored in this section are: (1) the wider social context for neighboring communities; (2) pupils' community of origin; (3) the organizations that own schools; (4) placement and supervisory organizations; (5) student population (presently consisting of youth, for the most part, from disadvantaged social groups); (6) the structure of the school, its role, ideology, and goals; and (7) the challenges that face residential schools. The second section summarizes the proceedings from the seminars. These papers examine selected issues in residential education or describe specific kinds of experiences in the operation of schools. An appendix covering facts and figures on formal and informal education in Israel concludes the report. (MJL)

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RESIDENTIAL EDUCATION IN ISRAEL

Report of

THE ISRAELI - AMERICAN SEMINAR ON OUT OF SCHOOL EDUCATION

Editorial Board:

The Israeli Group for Research on Residential Education

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THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE, JERUSALEM

JUNE 1981

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PREFACE

The seminar on "Out of School Education"- The case of Residential Education" took place under item K of the U.S.-Israel Memorandum of Understanding, signed by Mr. Joseph Califano, then Secretary of H.E.W., U.S. Department of Education and Mr. Zevulun Hammer, Minister of Education and Culture, Israel.

This report is the outcome of the seminar, which brought together professionals involved in education from the United States and Israel. Monthly sessions of the seminar were held from the beginning of December 1979 to the end of September 1980. During the first week of September, we were joined by the American participant in the seminar, Professor Charles Bidwell, Chairman of the Department of Education, Chicago University, Chicago, Ill. During Professor Bidwell's stay, members of the seminar accompanied him, over two days, visiting several residential institutions, representing the entire spectrum of Israeli esidential education. Following these visits, the seminar convened at the University of Tel Aviv, for two days of lectures and intensive discussion. Professor Bidwell made an illuminating and important presentation, at the seminar, which was extensively discussed and reacted to by the Israeli members of the seminar.

The rest of Professor Bidwell's stay was devoted to individual meetings with colleagues at Tel Aviv and Bar Ilan Universities, and at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

The Israeli members of the seminar were both academics from the above universities and practitioners experienced in residential education. The seminar definitely responded to an existing need in bringing together this varied group and provided an environment for collaboration. Moreover, the seminar brought out the desire to continue and perpetuate the work of the group, mainly among those involved in research in this area. Indeed, this smaller group held a number of meetings during 1980/81.

The present report thus summarizes the work of the seminar. In addition, it presents an extensive analysis of Israeli residential education by three members of the by now permanent research group (representing its general consensus).

The editors would like to take this opportunity to express their appreciation to all those who helped in facilitating the seminar and producing this report. Special thanks are due to the U.S. Department of Education for its involvement in the venture, the U.S. National Institution of Education which founded the seminars and the present publication and the U.S.-Israel Educational Foundation which administered the program in Israel.

Special thanks are due to Mr. Daniel Krauskopf, Executive Secretary of the U.S.-Israel Educational Foundation for his valuable assistance in seeing to the many details involved in ensuring the success of this enterprise. Special thanks are also due to Mr.

Arie Shoval, Deputy Director General, the Ministry of Education and Culture, and to Professor Shlomo Kugelmass, Chief Scientist of the Ministry, for their help in organizing the seminar and facilitating its work. We would also like to thank Ms. Hilda Lowenstein and Ms. Marilyn Amar for their special efforts and generous help in compiling this manuscript.

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THE ISRAELI RESIDENTIAL SETTING: TRADITION, SOCIAL CONTEXT, ORGANIZATION

Y. Kashti M. Arieli Y. Wozner

1981

INTRODUCTION

Residential education is more widespread in Israel than in many other countries.[1] Some 18% of Jewish youths between the ages of 13 and 17 are educated in residential settings.

During the 1979-80 school year approxmiately 37,000 youths studies in 309 residential settings which may be regarded as normative socialization alternatives to the ordinary schools Of these settings 102 are "Youth Groups" in various kibbutzim (communal rural settlements) - that is, residential settings for adolescents whose families live outside the kibbutz. 86 settings are secondary residential schools often called "Youth Villages". Some of these are agricultural schools, others are comprehensive or multi-vocational schools. 74 settings are residential Orthodox colleges, mostly Talmudical colleges ("Yeshivot") for boys. 47 settings are elementary schools or small family-type homes.[2]

In addition to these 309 settings, there are some 90 resocializing institutions which cater for social and other "deviations" of various types, such as correctional and treatment institutions.[3]

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[1] For example, while the U.S.S.R. has 2% of its total school population in residential school, England and Wales have 1.9%. See: Lambert, R., Bullock, R., & Millham, S., The Chance of a Lifetime? A Study of Boys' and Coeducational Boarding Schools in England and Wales, LOndon, 1975, pp. 11-16.

[2] Source: Ministry of Education and Culture, Data on Residential Education, Residential Education, Jerusalem, 15.5.1980.

[3] Source: Ministry of Welfare, Guide to Residential Settings for Children and Youth Till the Age of Eighteen, Jerusalem, 1972.

Residential schools are places where pupils spend most of their time for several years of their lives in organized separation, of varying degrees, both from their original community and from the social environment around these schools. The prolonged and continuous stay in one place and the extent of isolation from society are often regarded as assets which help the residential school to realize whatever educational goals were determined by its staff. It is assumed that the setting exerts pressure on its pupils to adapt and internalize preselected and structured modes of behavior and sets of norms through constant exposure to these influences and as a result of the advantageous position the staff of the residential school have over the influences of social agents outside its boundaries. This pressure on pupils - operated as a strategy for change and achieved by means of isolation and exposure - accounts for the description of the residential school as a powerful environment.[4]

Bloom,[5] discussing the prospects of educational advancement of disadvantaged adolescents, refers to the influence of changes in the social environment resulting from removal of the individual from his original environment and placing him in a new and powerful environment. In his view, the existing data support the generalization that the influence of outstanding changes is particularly strong in the period of the greatest normal development (adolescence), and particularly weak in the period of least normal development.[6] Bloom suggests that possibly the central attribute of such powerful environments is the extent of their expansion. In other words, in these environments the individual is totally surrounded in a situation that presses him from all sides towards a certain type of development or output.[7] Wheeler, in describing the network of interactions between people processing organizations and the wider society, puts forward the assumption that the degree of strength of the socialization attempt is related to the degree of isolation of the socializing setting. The more this setting is separated from the wider society, the more powerful will its influence be, in that such frameworks are capable of reducing the rate of potential conflict of other socialization influences.[8]

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[4] See: Wolins, M., (ed.), Successful Group Care: Explorations in the Powerful Environment, Chicago, 1974. The ethical questions appertaining to education in a "powerful environment" have been discussed by: Meron, J., The Legitimacy of Education for Values in the Residential Setting for Disadvantaged Pupils, Tel Aviv University, 1977.

[5] See: Bloom, B.S., Stability and Change in Human Characteristics, New York, 1964.

RESIDENTIAL SETTINGS: THE TRADITIONAL CONTEXT

It is assumed that four historical traditions of residential education and care have contributed to the nature of the organizational patterns of the Israeli residential school and its objectives. These were: A. residential frameworks in the Jewish Diaspora; B. residential schools during the pre-State (pre 1948) period; C. residential settings in the kibbutz during the pre-State period, and D. residential education during the first years of the State of Israel.

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[6] Ibid, p. 194.

[7] Ibid, p. 212.

[8] Wheeler, S., "The structure of formally organized socialization settings", in: Brim, O.G., and Wheeler, S., Socialization after Childhood, New York, 1966, p. 80.

A. Residential Frameworks in the Diaspora

The most prestigious framework of Jewish education in the Diaspora was often a residential one. We refer to the Yeshiva which, in various forms, was for hundreds of years the higher institution for study of the Talmud for adolescents and young adults in both eastern and western Jewish communities. For most of the students attending the Yeshiva entailed leaving their home and their community temporarily, since most of the Jewish communities were too small to run their own Yeshiva.

The Yeshiva fulfilled two allocative functions for traditional Jewish society. On the one hand, it served as an educational institution for the sons and sons-in-law of the Jewish elite. In the Yeshiva the pupils acquired many of the status of cultural symbols which characterized the members of their social group, particularly knowledge of the Talmud and thorough acquaintance with Jewish religious traditions. On the other hand, the Yeshiva served as a route of social mobility for members of lower social classes. This was possible because, despite its elitist nature, admission to study was generally open to every able, motivated pupil, regardless of his social background.[9]

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[9] For a discussion of the social functions of the Yeshiva, see Katz, Y., Tradition and Crisis, Jerusalem, 1958.

To this day attendance at a residential Yeshiva is a customary, though not essential, stage in the education and socialization process of a young member of the elite group in orthodox Jewish communities in Israel and Jewish communities in western countries.[10]

In the period between the first and second World War residential frameworks, known as "the Hachshara (training) kibbutzim", served as preparatory frameworks for groups of adolescents and young adults, members of pioneering Zionist movements, who wished to establish new agricultural settlements in Palestine. Their desire to organize as a community of settlers on the land placed the experience of living together as a group away from their families in a degree of importance no less than that of agricultural experience. Participation in these preparatory frameworks gave prestige, particularly among the members of the youth movements, but also among a wider circle of young people in the Jewish community, especially in eastern Europe.

Since studying in the Yeshiva or participating in the "Hachshara kibbutzim" entailed entering a residential framework, these frameworks were not perceived as stigmatising among Diaspora communities as they were considered in many societies where residential frameworks served primarily as orphanages or institutions for delinquents. This explains, at least partially, the absence of stigma attached to residential education in Palestine and later Israel.

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[10] In the last three decades High School Residential Yeshivoth, which combine traditional Yeshiva education and secular education, have been founded in Israel and several western countries. See: Sadan, I., "The development of orthodox secondary education in Israel", Niv Hamidrashiyah, Tel Aviv, 1962; Goldschmidt, J., "Religious secondary education in Israel", Niv Hamidrashiyah, Tel Aviv, 1971; Munk, M., "The residential 'yeshiva'", in: Wolins, M. & Gottesman, M., (eds.), Group Care: An Israeli Approach, New York and London, 1971, pp. 176-198; Bar-Lev, M., The Graduates of the Yeshiva High School in Eretz Yisrael Between Tradition and Change, Bar Ilan University, Ramat Gan, 1977; Ba-Gad, Y., The Yeshiva High School: The Educational Ideal & Reality, Bar Ilan University, Ramat Gan, 1977.

B. The Residential School in the Pre-State Period

Residential educational settings existed in Palestine from the beginning of Zionist settlement in the last decades of the 19th Century. For many years most of them engaged in agricultural training. The first modern agricultural settlement in Palestine was the Mikve Israel residential school which was established in 1870.

During the period between the end of the First World War and the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, the residential schools served three groups of recruits.

First, they served as secondary schools for the children of Jewish rural settlers and children of members and supporters of Zionist labor parties in the towns. In the absence of central state organizations during the British mandate, the main political parties tended to maintain their own service networks, including school systems.

The political leadership, which established most of the Jewish agricultural settlements in the country, did not until the rise of the State set up many secondary schools in towns, and encouraged its primary school leavers to continue their education in rural and agricultural settings such as the agricultural school or the kibbutz. This, apparently, was one of the ways not only to create cadres to replenish the agricultural settlements, but also to supervise and perpetuate groups of political elite.

While the formal system of the agricultural school dealt primarily with agricultural training and broad humanistic education, leaders of the youth movements worked, usually with the support of the school management, to lead the pupils towards the objectives of the youth movements. These objectives were, firstly the setting up of new agricultural settlements, generally kibbutzim, and also participating in the armed forces of the Jewish defense and underground organizations.[11]

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[11] On the relations between the agricultural schools and the youth movements see, for example, Lehmann, Z., "On political education and the attitude of our institution to the youth movement", 1936, in: Yekl, A., (ed.), Vision and Fulfillment: Dr. Z Lehmann's Talks and Lectures, Tel-Aviv, 1962, pp. 89-90. For descriptions on the role of pupils in agricultural schools in the defense organizations, see: Slutsky, Y., History of the Haganah, vol. 2, part 1, Tel-Aviv, 1963, p. 283 and p. 644; Meimon, A., Ayanoth, Jerusalem. 1956, p. 64; Shapira, Y., "Education toward defence", in: Shapira, Y., (ed.); Education and Settling, 1966, pp. 219-225. The elitist trends of the agricultural schools and their cooperation with the Zionist Labor parties are perhaps reflected in the fact that a considerable number of the givernment ministers and the army's chiefs of staff who were born or educated in Israel are graduates of the residential agricultural schools in the 1930's and 1940's. For example: Yitzhak Rabin, former prime minister, and the late Yigal Alon former foreign secretary, are graduates of the Kadooree agricultural school. Labour Party leader Shimon Peres is a graduate of the Ben Shemen youth village.

In the pre-State period the residential agricultural school's function as an institution preparing an elite for its roles indicates the similarity of its allocative and integrative functions to those of the British Public School. Like the Public School, the agricultural school did not aim to alienate its pupils from their original environment in the manner of total institutions, but rather to train them in the role system characteristic of the status they would acquire as adults by virtue of social factors. And like the public school, the role system they learned in the agricultural schools was not perceived in isolated units (agricultural skills), but as a certain "life-style", a totality of attitudes, norms and value orientations characteristic of their social group, such as Zionist settlement and "defense".

Second, the agricultural schools also served as frameworks for the training of Jewish youth from central and eastern Europe who came to Palestine, singly and in groups, for the dual purpose of "emigrating to the Jewish country" and "creating a revolution in the traditional pattern of life of the Jews".

While the role of the residential agricultural school with regard to the indigenous children was support and acceleration of socialization processes toward the status group to which they belonged by virtue of ascriptive factors, its role with regard to the immigrant youth bore the character of resocialization, that is, an attempt to bring about a change in the original socialization pattern of the youngster as a Jewish child in a European urban community. However, in the documentation on the integration of these two groups in the common residential framework there is almost no mention of special difficulties in connection with the shared education of the two groups, or of particular friction between them. Possibly the presocialization processes of the foreign-born children in the framework of Hachshara settlements and the youth movements in Europe, and their a priori commitment to the Zionist and pioneering ideology facilitated the convergence of the two groups.

Third, some of the residential agricultural schools operated both for indigenous and immigrant children who came to the country voluntarily, but first and foremost for children of peripheral or distressed groups. These agricultural schools, although they tended to adopt curricula similar to schools which took in fewer such children, were sometimes referred to as youth villages. This name reflected the adoption, at least on the stated level, of an ideology which regarded the child's well-being as an orientation guiding the school's educational goals. It appears that the youth villages, of which the largest and best-known was Ben Shemen[12] tended more to concentrate on socializing their pupils for membership in wide mainstream groups of the Jewish society in the pre-State period than for participation in the narrower political elite group of agricultural settlers. Thus the staffs of those agricultural residential schools known as youth villages emphasized the integrative function more, and the allocative function less, than their colleagues in other agricultural schools.

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[12] On the Ben Shemen youth village, see: Bentwich, N., Ben Shemen: A Children's Village in Israel, Jerusalem, 1960 (?); Yekl, A., (ed.), op. cit., 1962; Kerem, D., The First Children and Youth Village in Palestine, Tel-Aviv, 1974.

The inclusion in the residential framework of pupils from three groups: local-born, voluntary immigrants and members of distressed groups, occasionally led to conflicts, which may be partly explained against the background of cultural difference, particularly between indigenous children and refugees. However, the impression is that, with a few exceptions, these were mild and passing conflicts.

Young people who caused serious conflicts were placed in a special custodial setting called "Kfar Avoda" or Work Village. This setting was run by the governmental Welfare and Probation Department. It was established in 1938 and it catered for 90 individuals.

C. The Kibbutz Residential Framework in the Pre-State Period

The Israeli kibbutz movement, particularly the kibbutzim in the left-wing group, "Hashomer Hatzair", had experience of setting up residential frameworks for youth from 1931 onwards. Residential frameworks were offered to three types of adolescents: (1) the children of members of "Hashomer Hatzair" kibbutzim, (2) urban children, and (3) immigrant and refugee children.

(1) Residential schools for children of members of "Hashomer Hatzair" kibbutzim: "the educational institutions"

During the early thirties there was a growing tendency in kibbutzim of the "Hashomer Hatzair" movement to educate the members' children in a framework separate from the kibbutz. This residential framework was called "the educational institution". There were some educators who wished to set up a youth village for all the children of "Hashomer Hatzair" kibbutz members in an "extra-territorial" place, that is, far away from any kibbutz, following the approach of Gustav Winiken, one of the initiators of the youth village in Europe.[13] Others saw in the linking of the educational institution to one of the kibbutzim "a guarantee of its satisfactory development and assurance of the movement's influence over it".[14]

(2) Urban children in the kibbutz

Many kibbutzim tended to take in urban children individually and, less frequently, in whole groups. These children came from families with progressive outlooks regarding their children's education, or with an ideological attachment to the kibbutz or a family relationship with kibbutz members, or from broken families. During and after the Second World War several kibbutzim tried taking in small groups of youth from the poor areas of the big towns.

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[13] Porat, R., Education in Collective Communities and in Kibbutzim, Tel-Aviv, 1977.

[14] Golan, S., Collective Education, Tel-Aviv, 1977, p. 334.

In most cases the town children were absorbed by the youth group of the kibbutz, by the kibbutz itself or by the educational institution attached to the kibbutz.[15]

(3) Immigrant and refugee children

From 1934 onwards the kibbutzim started taking in young boys and girls aged 14-19 who came to the country in organized groups of young immigrants. These youths came primarily from central Europe, mainly Germany. Their motives for immigrating to Israel were the wish to make a change in the pattern of their lives and the fear of antisemitic persecution.[16] On the one hand these youths, some of them were organized in Zionist youth movements, were influenced by the German youth movement, which taught them to rebel against the adult world and change their way of life.[17] The members of the Zionist youth movements in Germany wished to realize personally the Zionist ideal and establish a new society rejecting the

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[15] The integration of town and kibbutz children is discussed in various papers in Hazan, B. & Rabin, A.I., (eds.), Collective Education in the Kibbutz, New York, 1973.

[16] The motives which led to the organizing of the groups and the ways groups were organized are discussed in the book by the founder of the Youth Aliyah project: Frier, R., Let the Children Come: the Early Story of Youth Aliyah, London, 1961; see also: Bentwich, N., Jewish Youth Comes Home: the Story of Youth Aliyah 1933-1943, London, 1944.

[17] On the German youth movement and its influence on Jewish youth, see: Barzel, H., The Youth Movement: Its Development within Different Countries and in Israel, Tel-Aviv, 1963.

"bourgeois" life-style of central European Jewry. On the other hand, their regular studies and their career prospects were disrupted with the Nazi rise to power and this spurred them on to make a change in their way of life outside Europe in the country of the Jews.[18] The immigration to Palestine and the placement in kibbutzim were organized by the Youth Aliyah project, which financed part of the wards' upkeep in the kibbutzim, and whose agents also supervised the integration and education process of the young people in the kibbutz.

The name given to the youths who came from abroad in organized groups was "Hevrat Noar" or the youth group.[19] The youth group generally included only those who came from abroad. Even when the kibbutz members had children of the same age as the youth group children, or when they also admitted native-born children of the same age, the kibbutzim did not tend to educate them together with members of the youth group; in other words, to house them in the same quarters or give them shared lessons or appoint shared teachers and instructors.

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[18] Frier, R., The Story of Youth Aliyah, 1961, pp. 9-17.

[19] The most comprehensive work on the "youth group" of the kibbutz is that of the youth leader of the first group which came to Israel in 1934, Reinhold, Ch. (Rinott). See his Hebrew book: Reinhold, Ch., Youth Builds its Home: Youth Aliyah as an Educational Movement, Tel-Aviv, 1953. For an English digest of a part of this book, see: Rinott, Ch., "Dynamics of Youth Aliyah groups", in: Wolins, M. & Gottesmann, M., (eds.), Group Care: An Israeli Approach, New York and London, 1971, pp. 44-70.

During the Second World War the number of conflicts between the youth and the kibbutz increased, explained generally by the trauma of the destruction of the parents' home and the fears of war.[20]

While the youth group instructors encouraged processes of internal social cohesion in the youth group, particularly by means of establishing self-governing bodies, the youths had more and more social contact with the kibbutz members, through working together in the various production and service sub-systems of the kibbutz and through shared guard duty and cultural and recreational activity.[21] The collective ideology sometimes found expression in the kibbutz members' encouraging attitudes to visits - often not prearranged - by the youth group members to their small apartments. Sometimes these visits by one individual or another with one of the families developed into a kind of informal fostering relationship. One of the elements which most distinguished between the agricultural school and youth village residential framework and that of the kibbutz youth group lay in the adolescents' relationship with the surrounding community. While the residential agricultural school was based on a large degree of separation of the pupils from the surrounding community, the kibbutz youth group was based on a high degree of integration with the community life, including attempts to encourage relationships similar to primary family relationships between the adolescents and the adult members of the kibbutz.

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[20] See, for example, Pinchus, Ch., "While other children played", in: Come From the Four Winds, New York, 1970, pp. 69-89.

[21] Reinhold, op. cit., 1953, pp. 59-87.

The pupils' mornings were generally devoted to work and the afternoons to study.[22] The work was regarded as a central value in the education of the youth group and in the value system of the kibbutz members themselves. The degree of success in work substantially determined the individual adolescent's popularity and status, both in his group and in the general kibbutz community. Many youths claimed that work was the central aspect of their lives and they preferred to work also in the afternoon hours which were set aside for study.[23]

The curriculum was characterized by classical and universal subject matter designed primarily for "character forming", imparting of "superior" values and knowledge patterns, for acculturation in the sense of transmitting the heritage and the cultural values of the "movement" and the kibbutz to the pupils, rather than giving them practical or "pragmatic" vocational training. This approach was aimed, apparently, to prepare the pupils for the status group, for membership among the "settlers" in the kibbutz, rather than training them for specific roles which could be applied also in social contexts outside the kibbutz framework.

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[22] Reinhold, ibid, p. 74.

[23] Reinhold, ibid, p. 77.

The objectives the kibbutzim set for the youth group appear to be reflected in the role of the chief instructor the kibbutz placed at the disposal of the youth group. This instructor, who was called the madrich, served both as the main teacher and as the central socialization agent of the kibbutz with regard to the youth group, and the link between the adults and the youth. The degree of differentiation in the role of the madrich was very small. Although most of them were educated, generally in the classics and humanities, they were not as a rule professional teachers, nor did they have much formal education in most of the subjects they taught.[24]

The madrich was appointed to this role by the kibbutz general meeting and subject to the principle of rotation, which was then often practiced in all branches of the kibbutz. The madrich remained with one, two or sometimes three youth groups for the two years of their education in the kibbutz. His central task was to prepare the pupils for settling on the land by moulding them into a pioneering group of an elitist nature, like that of the general kibbutz society. In order to perform this task the kibbutz expected the madrich to fulfil also an integrative function: the strengthening of group solidarity and consolidation of its values.[25]

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[24] See, for example, Pessach, Y., "What is the madrich required to do?", in: Habas, B., (ed.), op. cit., 1941, pp. 276-278.

[25] Shlasky, S., Changes in the Role of the Madrich, Haifa, Technion, 1975, pp. 10-11.

D. Residential Education after the Establishment of the State

The changes that occurred in the Jewish education system, particularly its secondary stages, from the pre-State period to the period following the State's establishment in 1948, may be described as a gradual transition from a system designed primarily for groups connected with political elites, having the principal function of bringing new members into this status group, into an educational system designed for all the children in the population, whose principal task was to prepare them for the diverse roles characteristic of members of various status groups. In 1951 the State Education Law was passed, thus hastening the process of transition to populist-education. This law abolished the "streams" in education, which were political-ideological streams, and modified to a large extent the relationship between the educational process and recruitment to status groups.[26]

The transition process from elitist to populist education was evident also in residential education. The mass immigration led to the flourishing of residential education. The executive of the Jewish Agency, the body dealing among other things with the organization of immigration and the absorption of immigrants, accepted the program of the leaders of its Youth Aliyah Department to offer education in residential frameworks to all the pre-adolescent and adolescent children of the immigrant families. The Youth Aliyah Department, which had had experience in educating children from abroad in residential frameworks since 1934, regarded the residential framework as an instrument for hastening the processes of assimilation and integration which were considered essential, such as learning Hebrew and getting to know the culture of the indigenous Israelis. The residential school, situated at a distance from the parents' home and the immigrant neighbourhood, was considered more effective in helping the integration processes than the neighbourhood school, which was often an isolated Israeli island in an area dominated by the language and culture of the immigrants' previous country.[27]

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[26] This problem of transition from "stream" to state education in the Israeli scene is discussed in Kleinberger, op. cit., 1969, pp. 275-307 and in Lamm, Z., op. cit., 1973.

When the absorption capacity of new youth groups in the kibbutzim and the existing residential schools was exhausted, the Youth Aliyah leaders encouraged political organizations and women's organizations to establish new residential schools combining the organizational framework of the traditional agricultural schools and the educational objectives of the kibbutz youth group.[28]

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[27] Kol, M., Youth Aliyah, Jerusalem, 1957, pp. 36-43.

[28] Kol, M., "Individuals and groups in institutional care", in: Ways of Education and Rehabilitation, Tel-Aviv, 1964, pp. 59-64.

From their beginning until about the end of the 1950's the new residential schools adopted the bureaucratic structure and the formal division into sub-systems of the traditional agricultural school; and from the kibbutz youth group they took the attitude to work and social life as educational factors of equal importance to theoretical studies, and the preference for "classic" and "superior" subject matter over the "pragmatic" and "inferior". Also, some of these schools tried, particularly in their early years, to use madrichim in the same way as they worked in the kibbutzim; that is, as teachers, youth leaders and central socialization agents.[29]

However, during the 1960's and 1970's the residential schools in Israel - those established both before and after 1948 - underwent processes of change which responded to or reflected, at least partly, the changes taking place in the general social system they served and the character of their pupil population.

It should be noted that since the emergence of the State of Israel there has also been some development, of special residential facilities for social "deviants". In the 1950's some 10 settings were established for juvenile delinquents. In 1958 there were about 20 settings for physically and/or mentally handicapped children, and no settings for "emotionally disturbed" ones. There was a considerably successful attempt to run and to maintain these settings according to the models of the mainstream settings.

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[29] Yesodot's Symposium, "Patterns in the organization of residential schools", Yesodot, 12, 1972, pp. 5-20.

THE WIDER SOCIAL CONTEXT

The Israeli residential school operates in constant interaction with four types of social organizations: neighbouring communities, the pupils' communities of origin, the organizations that own the schools and placement and supervisory organizations. In the course of this interaction, as will be shown below, these organizations contribute in various ways to the residential school's social definition, to the social processes occurring there and to the definition of its goals.

A. The Neighbouring Community

(1) The Kibbutz

Most of the residential schools in Israel were established in rural areas as independent units with regard to local government. However, while most of the agricultural residential schools set up in the pre-State period had no special attachment to the neighbouring communities, a considerable number of the residential schools that were set up after 1948 were established in geographical proximity and political and organizational affiliation to some kibbutz.

The link between the kibbutz and the residential school may be explained primarily against the background of the special role of the kibbutz in absorbing immigrant children in the 1930's and 1940's. The kibbutz movements, who tended to take into their kibbutzim many of the children who reached Israel during this period, were not capable of absorbing into the kibbutz frameworks the large numbers of children who arrived in the mass immigration of the 1940's and 1950's. This was particularly so in the movements which did not have many kibbutzim.

With the help of the Youth Aliyah organization and with the initiative and leadership of some political movements some of the kibbutzim began to establish residential schools near the kibbutz. These schools, particularly in the early fifties, functioned largely like the youth groups which the neighbouring kibbutz members often acted as directors of the youth villages, as madrichim-teachers and housemothers, while the pupils trained and worked in the agricultural branches of the kibbutz.[30]

The relationships between the residential schools and the neighbouring kibbutzim gradually began to weaken after the mid-fifties. This was expressed, for example, in the almost total absence of members of the neighbouring kibbutz on the staff of the residential school and in the fact that the schools no longer trained the pupils in agricultural work on the neighbouring kibbutz, but exclusively on their own farms.[31]

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[30] On the relationships between kibbutz members and pupils in the neighbouring residential school, see, for example: Super, S.A., Alonei Yitzhak: A Youth Village in Israel, Jerusalem, pp. 84-85; Kol, M., op. cit., 1957, pp. 54-68.

[31] On the weakening of relationships between kibbutzim and neighbouring residential schools, see: Hason, A., "A variety of pedagogical tongues", Yesodot 1, 1966, pp. 6-8.

(2) The Town

Some of the residential schools, particularly those which were established before the State, were set up in an environment which was originally rural and in the course of the last thirty years underwent intensive urbanization processes.

These schools sometimes maintain quite variegated interaction with the townships or the suburbs of fairly large towns which have grown up near them. This interaction has two main expressions: turning the residential school into part of the urban school system and integrating town residents in the residential school staff.

In the course of their development from small agricultural settlements to townships their needs for educational services increased. These communities established 8-year primary schools from the beginning and tended to send the few 14-18 year-olds among the school-leavers who wanted to go on studying to secondary schools in older-established neighbouring towns or suburbs. However, as early as the late fifties, the residential schools in the area took in some of these youths as day pupils, although the day pupils in those years amounted to no more than 10% of the residential school pupils.

In the course of the sixties most of the townships and suburbs set up community secondary schools, which began to accomodate most of the pupils of appropriate age. However, the neighbouring residential schools continued to take in some of the local children as day pupils. In a few cases the residential schools became an integral part of the school system in the area and began to operate as one of the secondary schools in a large town or as a residential school which was also the only secondary school in the locality. In these latter cases the number of day pupils from the townships sometimes exceeded the number of residential pupils.[32]

It may be assumed that where a high percentage of day pupils entered the residential school this had a noticeable influence on the youth culture and on the structure of the informal peer group system, but this has not yet been investigated. However, Smilansky and Nevo, who studied patterns of integration of children from residential settings attending day schools together with local children, found that a considerable number of the children from the residential setting acquired a sociometric status equal to that of the local children.[33]

B. The Pupils' Community of Origin

Since the early seventies most of the residential school pupils in Israel have not been children of new immigrants; they are children whose parents came to Israel three years, or generally more, before the child entered the residential school. Most of the families live in the development townships which were built in Israel after 1948 or in poor districts of the large towns.[34]

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[32] Kashti, Y., "The vocational institution of Magdiel: a portrait of a youth village in a process of change", Yesodot 7-8, 1970, pp. 32-43.

[33] Smilansky, M. & Nevo, D., The Gifted Disadvantaged: A Ten Year Longitudinal Study of Compensatory Education in Israel, New York and London, 1979.

Most of the pupils enter the residential schools after completing the eight-year primary school or the six-year primary school, which was designed in recent years as a first stage of the school system in the framework of the Reform Plan for the Israeli school structure. Some 15% of the pupils are admitted on completion of the three-year Middle School set up by the Reform Plan, namely after nine years of schooling.[35]

In the framework of the Reform Plan six-year comprehensive schools, which included the three-year Middle School and the three-year Upper School, were established. Many of these were opened in small development townships and in poor areas of big towns. In these communities the comprehensive schools were designed to take in the majority of the six-year primary school graduates.

The local education authorities tend to use the residential school, among other things, as an attempt to ensure the continued education of youths who have dropped out, particularly from the Middle School, or who are assessed as likely to drop out of the comprehensive school system before the age of 16, which is the upper age limit of compulsory education in Israel.

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[34] For a discussion of the pupils' socio-economic background, see Chapter Four below. See also, Adiel, S., "The education of deprived youth in Israel and in Youth Aliyah: policies and strategies", Youth Aliyah Bulletin, November, 1978, pp. 12-19.

[35] Source: Screening and Placement Department of Youth Aliyah, Internal Report, 1979.

At the same time the local education authorities, and particularly the comprehensive school managements, try to hold on to the Middle and Upper School pupils with the highest scholastic achievements, of whom there are very few in the poor townships and city slums as compared with the more established areas of Israeli society.

However, the residential schools sometimes constitute a focus of attraction precisely for the more successful pupils in the poor areas, apparently for two reasons: first, some of the residential schools offer prestigious vocational courses which are not offered by the local comprehensive school; second, some of the residential schools admit also middle-class youth, either as residential or day pupils, and apparently the contact with them is perceived by the pupils and their parents as providing a route for social mobility.

This state of affairs leads to an ambivalent attitude on the part of some of the officials in the education authorities and in the comprehensive school managements in the pupils' original community with regard to the residential schools and the placement authorities connected with them. On one hand, the residential schools help them to absorb actual and potential drop-outs and reduce the need to introduce new low-level classes and educational frameworks. On the other hand, the residential schools and the placement authorities are perceived as rival settings competing for the small groups of high achievers.[36]

C. Placement and Supervision Agencies

Some 75 to 80% of the residential school pupils are referred by placement agencies. These agencies are Youth Aliyah, the local welfare bureaus of the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, the Society for the Advancement of Education of Gifted Adolescents of Disadvantaged Background, affiliated to the Ministry of Education, and the Project for Training Jewish Children, connected with the Education Ministry. These placement agencies also pay for the upkeep of the children placed by them, and they maintain a supervision network over the residential schools to which they send pupils. The department for agricultural settlement of the Ministry of Education indirectly performs placement functions for about half of the 20% of the pupils who are not placed directly in the schools by the placement agencies.

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[36] The reserved attitude of local authorities towards educating their higher achievers in residential settings is reflected, for example in the two following cases: (1) The "Education Forum" of the Or Yehuda Local Council decided in 1976 to "reexamine the existing policy of sending away gifted children from the town to national or neighbouring institutions". Re: Kashti, Y. & Arieli, M. (eds.), The Supportive System: An Experiment in Developing Community Education Systems, Tel-Aviv University, 1978, p. 136. (2) During 1977-78 the Local Authroity of the township of Hatzor stopped the activities of Youth Aliyah screening and placement officials in the town because they were recruiting relatively achieving children to residential schools outside town. Source: correspondence between the Hatzor Local Authority and Youth Aliyah's Executive, Youth Aliyah Archives, 1977-1978.

(1) Youth Aliyah

Youth Aliyah is the largest organization in Israel for placement in residential schools. It was founded in 1934, during the British Mandate in Palestine, as a Zionist organization whose aim was to organize groups of Jewish youth from central Europe for the purpose of immigrating to Israel without their families. The founders of the organization brought most of these youths to kibbutzim with the aim of changing the "bourgeois" Jewish pattern of their lives and turning them into members of the pioneering elitist group.

In the course of time, and particularly after the establishment of the State of Israel, Youth Aliyah became a placement agency for the 13-18 year olds among the new immigrants who agreed or asked to attend residential schools. In the late forties, the fifties and most of the sixties Youth Aliyah presented as its central aim the placement of children from immigrant families in residential frameworks. Placement in these frameworks was recommended to the parents first and foremost as a means of intensive integration for their adolescent sons or daughters (learning the Hebrew language quickly, getting to know the Israeli culture). Nevertheless, until the end of the sixties Youth Aliyah did not give up, at least on the stated level, its intention of providing for its wards something of a pioneering education. From the early seventies, particularly following the sharp decline in the annual number of immigrants to Israel and thus in the number of candidates for admittance by Youth Aliyah, the organization began to take in Israeli youth who were defined as suffering from educational, social or financial distress.

Youth Aliyah is connected with almost all the residential schools in Israel, and with some 100 kibbutz youth groups. It sends its candidates to these frameworks after a process of assessment and selection. Youth Aliyah is a department of the Jewish Agency, from which it obtains most of its financial resources.

The number of Youth Aliyah pupils in residential schools ranges between 10% and 95%. In 75% of the residential schools with a population of more than 250 pupils the proportion of Youth Aliyah wards reaches 70% or more.

Youth Aliyah uses teams of professionals in education and behavioural sciences, who specialize in the various aspects of education and care of children. The services of these teams are offered to all the residential schools which admit children referred by Youth Aliyah. These services include, among other things, teams who deal with curriculum development and compensatory programs. Some of these teams deal with both the development of programs for the cognitive and affective enrichment of the disadvantaged pupils in the residential schools, and the training of teachers and child care workers in the application of the programs in their schools. Other teams deal concurrently with the development and distribution of programs designed to introduce the immigrant children to Israeli culture. Also, Youth Aliyah maintains teams of psychologists and social workers who provide consultative services to the teaching staff and child care workers in the schools, supervision to the teachers and educational counsellors and psychotherapeutic treatment to the pupils diagnosed as needing long-term therapy. The central agents of Youth Aliyah in the residential schools are the educational supervisors.

It appears that the control that Youth Aliyah exerts over the residential schools is a result not of legal prescription but of the schools' dependence on Youth Aliyah in three areas: the supply of pupils and the finance of their upkeep, the acquisition of grants and loans for development, and the supply of professional services in education and care.[37]

(2) The Welfare Department of the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare

The Welfare Department of the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare maintains a network of treatment and rehabilitation residential frameworks for retarded, maladjusted and distrubed children, as well as institutions for juvenile delinquents. In addition, through the local welfare bureaus which function in most of the urban districts in Israel, the department serves as a placement authority for residential schools.

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[37] On Youth Aliyah during the pre-State period (1932-1948), see: Freier, R., op. cit., 1961; Bentwich, N., op. cit., 1944; Kol, M., op. cit., 1957. On Youth Aliyah during the 1950's and 1960's, see: Carlebach, J., The Future of Youth Aliyah, London, 1968; Arieli, M., "The residential treatment centers of Youth Aliyah, Forum for Residential Therapy, 2, 4, 1972, pp. 331-342; Gottesman, M., The Care of the Disadvantaged Child in Israel, London, 1977; Adiel, S., op. cit., 1978, and Youth Aliyah, The Organization and Its Affiliated Residential Settings, Jerusalem, 1978.

The welfare bureaus refer to the residential schools the children of parents who apply to them, generally on their own initiative, as part of an intervention program for distressed families (financial hardship, death or sickness of one of the parents, divorce of the parents). Sending the child to the residential school is generally perceived as part of the comprehensive treatment of the family and not merely as an educational solution for the individual child who has difficulties at school. However, many of the children who are sent to the residential schools by the Welfare Department because of family distress could just as well have been referred by Youth Aliyah because of educational distress.

(3) The Society for the Educational Advancement of Gifted Children from Disadvantaged Background

The Society, which operates in the framework of the Ministry of Education, started as an experiment conducted in the sixties to bring about the social integration of gifted adolescents of disadvantaged background with children from the social and economic mainstream in Israel. The experiment was based on the establishment of residential settings for children of disadvantaged background alongside prestigious secondary schools, and the full integration of disadvantaged and the mainstream children in the classrooms. Following this experiment the Ministry of Education, through the Society for Educational Advancement, continues to send primary school leavers with a relatively high level of achievement from distressed areas to residential schools whose educational standard is considered to be relatively high.

(4) Project for the Training of Jewish Children

This project, which also functions within the framework of the Education Ministry, sends children under the age of 13 with a background of family crisis to small residential schools or family institutions ("homes").

(5) The Agricultural Education Department of the Ministry of Education

The Israeli Ministry of Education operates through regional authorities which more or less independently run most of the educational services that the Ministry offers. The Agricultural Education Department of the Ministry has authority similar to that of a regional authority. The schools which the department is designed to serve are primarily the agricultural residential schools throughout the country and some additional residential schools in rural areas which are not strictly agricultural schools. The department maintains a network of supervisors who see that the official regulations are enforced in the schools within the department's framework, particularly as regards curricula and teaching standards.

Although the department is not a placement agency, it has a strong influence on the nature of the population of the residential schools through the scholarships it gives, generally to youths whose family income is above that which entitles the child to maintenance by Youth Aliyah, but too low to enable them to pay all the costs of the child's maintenance.

THE SPECIFIC FACTOR - DISADVANTAGE

The residential schools recruit their pupils from specific social groups with specific needs. The specific character of the pupils and their needs in its turn affect the social reality and the goals of the school.

A. Changes in the Social Composition of the Residential School Population

During the fifties and until the mid-sixties the population of the residential schools included two groups of pupils: (1) immigrants and (2) old-timers.

(1) The Immigrants: This group included pupils who had come to Israel with their families after 1948, children who were born

to families who had come to Israel after 1948 and immigrant youths who were brought by Youth Aliyah without their families. They were a somewhat heterogeneous group as regards social and ethnic background, and in some years included children from 40 different countries, particularly from the Middle East and North Africa, Eastern Europe, the Balkan countries and India.[38]

(2) The Old-Timers: This group included youths whose parents were born in Israel or had arrived before 1948, mostly from Eastern and Central Europe and usually before the outbreak of World War II. This group consisted of four sub-groups: pupils from rural areas who wished to acquire agricultural training for the instrumental purpose of maintaining the family farm; pupils from urban and rural areas from the social mainstream who were connected with the pioneering youth movements and regarding agricultural training in the residential school as part of the fulfillment of a social ideal; pupils who were not admitted to urban academic schools because of low achievements in the primary school and so chose agricultural, and therefore residential, education as a second option; and pupils who chose residential education because of family difficulties (conflicts with the parents, parents' divorce, etc.).[39]

These two groups - the immigrants and the old-timers - were not found in equal proportions in each of the residential schools. Generally it may be said that in the mid-sixties the number of old-timers exceeded that of the immigrants in the agricultural residential schools, while the reverse was the case in the schools defined as youth villages.

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[38] Kol, op. cit., 1957.

[39] Miron, A., "Restoration of original objectives (in agricultural education)", in: Shapira, Y., (ed.), op. cit., 1966, pp. 193-201.

Most of the residential schools were defined as heterogeneous with regard to pupils' social background, and as striving to achieve social integration of the various social and ethnic groups.

But in a process which began in the mid-sixties and reached its peak a few years ago, the heterogeneous pattern of the pupils' social structure changed in most of the residential schools. This process included three elements:

(a) In the late sixties and early seventies there was a decline in the rate of immigration in Israel. In the wake of the decline in immigration in general there was a drop in the number of candidates of the first group, the immigrants.

(b) The maintenance cost of an individual pupil in the residential school rose steeply. As a result of this there was a gradual decrease in the number of pupils in the residential schools whose education was fully financed by the parents, without being supplemented by the public funds which financed the activities of the placement agencies. This development hindered the process of recruitment to the school of candidates from the second group.

(c) In 1972 Youth Aliyah decided on special programs for the absorption of disadvantaged pupils in the residential schools connected with it.

In the 1977/78 school year the number of disadvantaged pupils in the Youth Aliyah residential education network reached 90%.[40] Since Youth Aliyah is the central placement agency for residential schools, the composition of its candidates affects the composition of the school populations. As stated in the introduction, according to an estimate based on partial data on the placement authorities concerning the ethnic and social background of the pupils referred by them, it appears that in 1977/78, 80% of the pupils in residential schools were children of parents belonging to disadvantaged social groups.

B. The Disadvantaged and Residential Education

In Israel there is no one set definition of the social category "disadvantaged pupils". However, all the definitions seem to stress ascriptive characteristics, first and foremost, the ethnic origin - oriental - of those who are described as disadvantaged. The justification for this emphasis concerns the correlation between the ethnic variable and educational and social achievements in Israel, which is often (not always) found to be higher than the correlation between other background variables and educational and social achievements. This relation is reflected, among other things, in the fact that although in recent years people of oriental origin constitute over 50% of their age groups among young adults in the Jewish population of Israel, their proportion among university students is less than 20%. Father's education and number of children in the family have also been found to be positively correlated with school achievement.[41]

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[40] Source: Youth Aliyah's Statistics Section.

Educationalists in Israel tend to adopt concepts drawn from developmental-psychological research both in describing the behaviour of the disadvantaged as this is revealed in research observations and in their aetiological explanation of this behaviour.

Alongside these descriptions there have recently begun to appear in Israel works putting forward the claim that the disadvantaged pupils do not bear their failure within them as a characteristic, but that "disadvantage" "is created" in the interaction between the teachers and other agents of the social context and the pupils who are expected to behave in the way generally considered to be typical of disadvantaged behaviour.[42]

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[41] The social and educational problems which disadvantaged pupils in Israel encoumter have been described by many authors. Representative examples are: Smilansky, M. & Smilansky, S., "Deprivation and disadvantage: Israel", in: Passow, A.H. (ed.), Deprivation and Disadvantage, Hamburg, 1970, pp. 187-209; Adler, Ch., "Social stratification in Israel", Comparative Education Review, 18, 1974, pp. 10-23; Adler, Ch. et al., A Master Plan for Research in the Education of the Disadvantaged in Israel, Jerusalem, 1974; Kamiel, S., The Social Background of Students and Their Prospects of Success at School, Israel National Commission for UNESCO, Jerusalem, 1971; Algrably, M., op. cit., 1975; Peres, Y., Ethnic Relations in Israel, Tel-Aviv, 1976. ON disadvantaged adolescents in Israel, see: Arieli, M. & Kashti, Y., "The disadvantaged peer group in the Israeli residential setting", Jewish Journal of Sociology, 14, 2, 1977, pp. 145-155; Kashti, Y. & Arieli, M., "Residential education in Israel", in: Payne, C.J. and White, K.J., (eds.), Caring for Deprived Children, London, 1979, pp. 180-191.

[42] See, for example: Hasin, Y., "The disadvantaged child as a victim of labelling", Megamot, 21, 2, 1975, pp. 140-156; Adar, L., "The culturally deprived: definitions of the concept", Studies in Education, 18, 1978, pp. 5-14; Arieli, M., "The meanings teachers impute to the concept of disadvantage", Alim, Summer 1979, pp. 32-35.

The Israeli education system operates on the assumption that the damage to the cognitive functions and personality patterns, which is commonly thought to exist in the disadvantaged, is reversible and can be corrected even in adolescence.

The remedial programs offered by the Israeli education system to the disadvantaged may be classified into 6 types: (a) development of special curricula for the disadvantaged; (b) special didactic training for teachers dealing with the disadvantaged; (c) enrichment programs (d) training of parents, particularly mothers, to bring up their small children in a way that prevents or reduces disadvantage; (e) change in the social composition of the class and the school (segregation, integration, home rooms, streaming, setting, etc.); (f) removing the disadvantaged pupils from their environment and placing them in residential schools. The assumption underlying this latter program is that avoiding the conflict between the cross-influences of the two conflicting cultures - the depriving culture of the home and neighbourhood and the promoting culture of the school - and exposing the disadvantaged over a period of years to the daily influence of a setting which operates first and foremost as an agent of the culture of the social centre may help to restore the functioning and adaptive ability of the disadvantaged pupil.[43]

As for the disadvantaged adolescents' wish to study in a residential school, this is sometimes explained as a desire to make a fresh start. Feuerstein[44] claims that the residential setting may make effective use of the escape modality of adaptation, which is a possible type of response of youths in early adolescence to the situations of anxiety and instability typical of this stage. This adaptation modality was described by Hartmann as one of three possibilities of adaptation modalities. The young adolescent may respond to anxieties resulting from the changes he undergoes in adolescence by attempting to change the outside world (alloplastic orientation), frequently expressed in the tendency for 'acting out', or by attempting to adapt to the changes occurring both in the external worlds (autoplastic orientation), an attempt involving intensive emotional and cognitive activity. Alongside these two solutions, Hartmann described the escape modality of adaptation as another possible response to the anxiety resulting from the internal and external changes in adolescence. This type of response motivates the adolescent to leave the battle field, to leave the environment where the conflict takes place, and to seek new horizons.[45]

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[43] Kashti, Y., Socially Disadvantaged Youth in Residential Education in Israel, The University of Sussex, 1974; Kashti, Y., The Socializing Community: Disadvantaged Adolescents in Israeli Youth Village, Tel-Aviv University, 1979.

Emotional and cognitive deprivation prevents the disadvantaged adolescent from adopting the autoplastic modality of response. Two possibilities may be open to him: aggressive and manipulative behaviour; or abandoning the environment where the conflicts and failures occur, his family and local school.

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[44] Feuerstein, R., "The redevelopment of the socio-culturally disadvantaged adolescent in group care", in: Wolins, M. & Gottesmann, M., op. cit., 1971, pp. 232-245.

[45] The three modalities of adaptation are described in: Hartmann, H., Ego Psychology and the Problem of Adaptation, New York, 1958. See in particular pp. 26-27.

THE INHERENT FACTOR: THE STRUCTURE AND THE SYSTEM

The residential schools in Israel generally have at least 140 pupils and 35 full-time staff members; the largest of them number, together with their day pupils some 1200 pupils and about 300 staff. Most of the residential schools in 1978/9 numbered 200-450 pupils and 50-115 staff.

A. Management, Communication, Control

The residential schools contain several formal sub-systems: the sub-system which operates the teaching, its structure resembling that of a day school (hereinafter: the schooling sub-system), the sub-system which deals with the pupils' living arangements, their extra-curricular education and their social education (hereinafter: the residential social sub-system. Alongside the latter, in recent years, another small sub-system has been operating: the individual care sub-system.

The residential school also contains a sub-system for management and finance. Some of the residential schools, particularly the agricultural ones, also include a sub-system for farm management and for the training and employment of the pupils in work (hereinafter: the occupational sub-system). At the head of the residential school is the Principal who, together with the heads of the sub-systems, acts as the school Executive. The Principal and the members of the Executive initiate and maintain formal communication and control in the residential school.

(1) The Principal and the Executive

Since the mid-fifties scarcely any new residential schools have been established in Israel, but most of the existing ones have increased their population by at least 50%. The establishment of the residential schools in the early years of the State and in the pre-State period was perceived as part of the process of forming a new society.[46] And thus the role of the Principal, who was generally also the founder of the residential school and often a fairly central member of his political movement, was perceived as a role of leadership rather than of directorship. The Principals were generally not appointed to their posts on the basis of formal abilities and through formal procedures such as public tenders. Furthermore, in most cases the Principals created and defined their position during the process of the school's development rather than entering into a role whose norms were laid down in advance.

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[46] See, for example: Ben-Zvi-Yanait, R., Our Children From East and West: The Ein Kerem Youth Village, Jerusalem, 1977.

Most of the residential schools were quite small (up to 200 pupils). The Principal was directly involved in all the sub-systems, either through taking an a active part in their formation or because the small size permitted this, or else because he was practically the sole liaison between the residential school and the ownership and supervision and placement agencies.[47]

The founder-Principals gradually reached retirement age. In 1978/9 the majority of Principals of Israeli residential schools had succeeded a previous Principal. Without the challenge of creating something new, the new Principals seem to have lost a great deal of the leadership charisma. The development of a tradition more or less common to the residential schools, together with the growing institutionalization of the national educational system and its demands, appear to limit the Principal's opportunities of developing an independent and individual style of management and the introduction of innovations.

In many residential schools much of the management of external relations is passing from the Principal to the heads of the sub-systems. This process, resulting partly from the growth of the residential school and partly from the institutionalization of the placement and supervision organizations and the need for various experts in conducting negotiations with the external bodies, led to the weakening of the Principal's status.

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[47] Kashti, Y., op. cit., 1971.

In recent years the pattern of the Principal's role has changed, as the system he heads becomes increasingly decentralized. One of his main tasks now is to coordinate the various sub-systems, that is: to prevent the over-compartmentalization or even the disintegration, of the residential school into separate units and to contain the conflicts between the various sub-systems in a controlled framework.

In addition to this task the Principal still serves as a central figure in safeguarding resources and creating conditions for the school to adjust to the environment, in communicating the goals of the ownership to the system, in adopting new aims and in managing a system of communication and control which will guarantee a certain degree of consensus for his and the ownership's preferred aims.

The impression received is that, despite the similarity between residential schools, the specific organizational structure is at least partly a result of the personality skills and decisions of the Principal, particularly as regards the extent of centralization or decentralization of the structure and the degree of integration or compartmentalization of the sub-systems.

An estimated three fifths of the present Principals of residential schools previously held other posts in the same schools or in other residential schools, or fulfilled educational management roles in supervision and placement authorities. Two fifths of the Principals came from outside the residential school system.

(2) Means of Communication and Control

The most common formal communication channel in the residential school is the meeting: the Executive Board meeting or the staff meeting of one of the sub-systems (such as a techers' meeting). In most of the residential schools there are also meetings of the "young group staff". This refers to meetings of those staff members who deal directly with the children of one group, the madrich (housefather), the metapelet (housemother), and occasionally a psychologist, a social worker and the vocational instructors.

Generally there is a great deal of informal communication among the staff in the residential school, arising from the fact of their spending a large part of their time together, also outside working hours, since some of the staff live there and because their roles require staff members who deal with the same child or group of children to be in contact with each other. The informal communication is also intensified in the framework of the social gatherings that take place between resident staff member, particularly "metaplot" and "madrichim". It seems that in most of the residential schools the Principals and the heads of the sub-systems encourage a direct approach to themselves without going through the hierarchy. Such direct approaches are not generally regarded as bypassing authority.

Besides the external control exercised by the placement and supervision agencies and by the pupils and their parents, in the residential school as in every social organization there is internal control on the part of those in high positions over those in lower positions. Since the residential school may be characterized as an organization with cultural aims, the internal control is generally of normative character. In other words, the loyalty of the staff, particularly the educational staff, is apparently based primarily on their identification with the values of the school.

However, it appears that difficulties typical of those existing with regard to the supervision of any educational organization stand out particularly in the residential schools: first, in the absence of a defined outcome the criteria of effectiveness of the educational staff's work, especially of the "madrich" and "metapelet", tend to be highly diffuse; second, most of the contacts between the educational staff and the pupils occur in places not easily observed (the group clubroom, the pupils' dormitory). Furthermore, as in every people-processing organization, it appears that the very presence of the observer - the Principal, the head of a sub-system - tends to change the character of the interaction between educational worker and pupil; third, it is hard to control decisions taken in unplanned and unquantifiable situations; fourth, the possibilities of rewarding or sanctioning the staff of the residential school are extremely limited, since the staff's relations with the organization are based on work agreements which determine precise, rigid norms of grading and salaries.

B. The Residential Social Sub-System

During the hours which are not devoted to schooling or to work, the pupil acts in the framework of the residential social sub-system. This sub-system, which is headed by the chief "madrich" (the formal head), the chief "metapelet", by the "madrichim" (housefathers) and the "metaplot" (housemothers), relates to the pupils' social activity, their leisure activity and their extra-curricular learning activities. Besides functioning as a formal system, the residential social sub-system serves as the main (if not the only) framework for the activities of the pupils' informal system.

(1) The Residential Social Sub-System as a Formal System

For the purpose of social activities, the residential school's pupil population is divided into "youth groups". While most of the pupils' social life takes place in the framework of these groups, some takes place in the frameworks that serve the entire community of pupils in the residential school. The residential social sub-system also includes extracurricular clubs for pupils who are interested in various topics, where participation is not on the basis of belonging to a particular youth group.

(a) The Youth Group: The youth group consists of 25-70 children of the same age, usually of both sexes. In most of the residential schools there is one youth group for all the pupils of a given age. The members of the youth group study in parallel classes in the schooling sub-system.

Each youth group has one or two dormitories. The dormitories generally include the pupils' rooms, a commonroom and sometimes an apartment for the "madrich" or the "metapelet". There are usually four pupils to a room.

The main formal activity of the youth group is an evening meeting which takes place 2-3 times a week. This meeting is generally conducted by the "madrich", and serves several purposes: a) communication and control, organizational coordination and passing on of information; b) discussion of current events in Israel and abroad, on subjects of value-idea significance or on subjects connected with the world of the adolescents; c) parties, games and community singing; and d) watching television together. The younger age groups also meet in the early evening to prepare homework supervised by the madrich.

The members of the youth group are expected to clean their rooms every day. They have a rota system for cleaning the corridors, toilets, washrooms and the commonroom. They are expected to keep certain rules pertaining to personal and group cleanliness and order, the timetable (getting up and going to bed) and attendance at group meetings. These rules are set by the Principal, the head of the residential social system and the head metapelet, and sometimes by the "madrich" and "metapelet" of the group. In addition, the group elects a committee - democratically and with the staff's knowledge. The committee introduces additional organizational rules of its own, or changes existing rules (such as time for lights out), generally after receiving the staff's permission.

In the special settings for the delinquent or the handicapped the group is relatively small. In some places these groups have only 12 to 15 members.

(b) The Youth Community: In most of the residential schools all the pupils meet in the framework of celebrations and ceremonies. A regular and important weekly event is the Sabbath evening ceremony. This traditional ceremony is held on Friday evenings in the dining-room which accomodates all the pupils of the residential school.

All the residential schools maintain a self-governing body: the central youth council. This council is composed of the representatives of the youth group committees. The head of the council is generally the representative of the most senior group. The types of activity of the council, the degree of its independence, the nature of its relations with the management and the staff on the one hand, and the extent and ways it represents the pupils' interests on the other hand, seem to vary from one residential school to another. But these characteristics of the youth council have not yet been investigated.

(c) The Extra-Curricular Clubs: In the late afternoon the head of the residential social system operates a network of clubs for all the pupils in the school. Each pupil takes part in one of three clubs of his choosing, but generally every pupil is obliged to choose one club which meets at least once a week.

The clubs are usually of three types: (a) clubs for discussion of cultural topics, such as Jewish tradition or archeology of the region; (b) clubs for the learning of skills and practical sciences, such as carpentry or electronics; (c) sports clubs. Since the early seventies the number of clubs of the first type have been decreasing and clubs of the second and third types have increased in most of the residential schools, with the exception of the religious ones.

(2) The Youth Group as an Informal System

Most of the interaction between the peers takes place in the framework of the residential social informal system. This state of affairs stems, among other things from the fact that in the schooling sub-system and in the occupational sub-system the children are engaged in actions of an individual nature and with a relatively high degree of interaction with adult staff members (teachers and vocational instructors).

Since the members of the youth group spend much of their time together in unstructured activities, most of the interaction that takes place between them in the framework of the group dormitory is not formal and the degree of regular control the adults have over this interaction is very limited.[48] Following Kahane[49] who discusses the features of informal youth groups, it seems that within the residential school in particular the relatively uncontrolled shared leisure time gives special force to three of the central characteristics of the youth group as an informal system. The three characteristics are (a) symmetry or balanced reciprocity; (b) the equalizing mechanism; and (c) the mediating mechanism.

(a) Balanced Reciprocity: In the dormitory, the commonroom and elsewhere on the campus of the residential school the pupils meet on a basis of more or less uniform status and power. This characteristic distinguishes their interactions among themselves from their interactions with the staff members.

The balancing force that operates between the peers in their interactions makes the exchange fair. In other words, the exchange is not based on lack of choice or surrender of one side to the superior strength of the other. It seems that in this situation of balanced reciprocity the pupil has increased chances of learning universal rules of behaviour which will operate as internalized and institutionalized principles guiding his actions.[50]

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[48] Gottesmann, M., "Leadership in the youth village", Yesodot, 12, 1972, pp. 44-50.

[49] Kahane, R., Symmetrical Relationship, Legitimation and the School Structure, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Dept. of Sociology, 1972.

This, perhaps, is the source of the strength that appeared to us to lie in the pupils' informal system in many of the residential schools' youth groups. And thus it may be that in many cases when the youth group's informal system accepts the rules of the staff's formal system the informal system serves as an effective mechanism for controlling and directing the pupils to channels desired by the staff. On the other hand, insofar as the youth group's informal system rejects the formal system the power of balanced reciprocity may be directed against the formal system.[51]

(b) The Equalizing Mechanism: The pupil's interactions with the staff in the framework of the schooling sub-system and the occupational sub-system appear to be mainly directed towards the needs of acquiring resources (instrumental needs). In some contrast to this, the number of interactions in the youth group directed towards the needs of tension-release and consumption (expressive needs) exceeds the number of interactions directed towards acquiring resources. Interactions of this type require varied characteristics and skills. Indeed, the impression is that in the youth group no one characteristic (such as scholastic ability) has a dominant status as a basis for evaluating a member of the group. Instead, various characteristics are evaluated: friendliness, diligence in performing shared tasks, physical strength, artistic ability, sporting ability, and so forth.

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[50] On moral education through peers in the residential school, see: Kohlberg, L., "Exploring the moral atmosphere of institutions: a bridge between moral judgement and moral action", Heinz Werner Memorial Lecture, Boston, Mass., April 1979 (mimeo).

[51] On the limitations of this generalization, see: Lambert, R., Millham, S. and Bullock, R., "The informal social system", in: Brown, R., (ed.), Knowledge, Education and Culture, London, 1973, pp. 297-316.

Against this background there appears to be a high probability that the informal system operating in the youth group permits the various pupils to use equal - if not identical - strength in their mutual relations. In this way various types of stratification are formed and there is an increased probability of parallel scales of values based on ability in various types of activities. In these circumstances it may be also that class and ethnic differences stand out less. The parallel scales of values thus create a kind of equalizing mechanism.

(c) The Mediating Mechanism: The bearers of differential roles among the staff pass on to the individual pupil various role expectations related to their specialities. In this sense the staff members represent the complex modern society in which the pupils will have to take their place on completing their studies. Furthermore, the differential nature of the pupils' interactions with the staff members gives their relations the flavour of secondary relations.

In this sense the youth group in the residential school serves as a kind of mediating mechanism. The group mediates between the family, with its primary and particularist relations with the child, and modern society, represented by the management and staff, with its secondary, universalist and specific relations with the pupil. In other words, the group mediates between childhood and adulthood.

The youth group in the residential school acts as a mediating mechanism in permitting dual relations: primary relations between room-mates and specific relations with all the members of the peer group in the course of performing shared tasks.[52]

(3) The Madrich

The madrich is expected to be at the disposal of his charges during all the daytime hours that are not devoted to formal activity in the schooling or occupational sub-system, that is to say, during mealtimes and in the times set for looking after their things, cleaning their dormitories, doing homework, social activities and leisure. The nature of the pupils' activities during the time they are supervised by the madrich indicates the wide variety of components of his role. These components require a developmental and custodial orientation towards the pupils, relating simultaneously to the individual and the group. Until the mid-seventies the madrich was mainly expected to help the individual pupil to cope with the many and often conflicting expectations directed at him in the residential school, to maintain equilibrium between them or to harmonize them.[53] Almost every member of the organization (including the madrich himself) who interacts with the pupil expects of him things connected with that member's differential area of activity: teachers of various subjects expect the pupil to devote his time and energy to studying their subjects, coordinators of branches expect him to devote himself to the branches they are in charge of and pupils expect of him social activity in the framework of their formal and informal systems.[54]

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[52] On the peers' informal system within the residential school, see also Arieli, M., "The peer group in the residential setting: some of the features of its informal system", in: Adiel, S., Shalom, H. and Arieli, M. (eds.), Fostering Deprived Youth and Residential Education, Tel-Aviv, 1980, 6, pp. 327-337.

Furthermore, the differential and complex nature of the residential school organization makes it difficult for the pupil to fulfil his needs. According to Goffman, one of the characteristics of the total institution which undermine the inmate's personality is his dependence on a large, complex and clumsy apparatus in order to satisfy his smallest needs. An educational organization with total characteristics therefore needs a figure who can help the pupil to maintain the integration of his personality. It appears that the general expectation in the residential school until recently was that this task would be done by the madrich. He was thus expected to help the pupil in his contacts with the various differential factors, to clarify what was common to the various processes and thus help to prevent a phenomenon which may occur in a total institutions: disintegration of the individual's personality.

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[53] This issue has been discussed by Carlebach, J., "Some aspects of residential child care and the role of the Madrich", in: Wolins, M. and Gottesmann, M., (eds.), op. cit., 1971, pp. 277-289; Shlasky, S., "The role of the Madrich", in: Arieli, M., Lewy, A. and Kashti, Y., (eds.), The Educative Village, Jerusalem, 1976 a, pp. 66-85.

[54] Shlasky, S., "Changes in the role of the Madrich of the residential setting", in: Kashti, Y. and Arieli, M., (eds.), Residential Schools: Socialization in Powerful Environments, Tel-Aviv, 1976 b, pp. 144-157; Shmida, M., "The Madrich's occupation in a process of professionalization", Yesodot, 16-17, 1977, pp. 25-47.

Although it appears that in recent years this function has been gradually passing from the madrich to the professional worker, the madrich is still expected to view the pupil as a complete personality and relate to him in a diffuse and particularist manner.[55] In this sense the madrich's role resembles that of a parent. Indeed, the bearer of this role of madrich or its parallel in various residential settings throughout the world is often called a house-father.

However, alongside this parental function the madrich is expected to perform additional functions which may be classified as (1) individual-development functions; (2) group developmental functions; (3) individual custodial functions; and (4) group custodial functions.

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[55] Shlasky, S., op. cit., 1975.

56 Ibid, p. 33.

It appears that the emphasis in the role of the madrich in residential schools has changed twice. During the thirties and forties the social component of this role was considered the major one; the madrich was perceived as the central factor in recruiting the pupils to the ideology of agricultural settlement. In the fifties and sixties, when the political "ideological" education systems were replaced by the State education systems were replaced by the State education system with its strong achievement orientation alongside the increasing penetration of approaches stressing the child's well-being, the individual component of the madrich's role appears to have been increasingly more emphasized than the social component. This emphasis was reflected in the large amount of time devoted by the madrich to helping with homework and to individual supportive talks.[57]

Since the mid-seventies another change has appeared in the role of the madrich. Helping with homework is gradually being taken out of his hand, either because he is not equipped with knowledge of the subject matter taught in the secondary school, or because he is not trained in the didactic techniques required for helping pupils with learning problems. Also, in many residential schools there has been a growth in recent years of study groups run by specialists who are not regular members of the school staff. As a result of this the individual pupil joins in many extra-group activities, thus reducing the extent of his direct contacts with the madrich. This process increases with the entrance of professional workers, clinical school psychologists, educational counsellors and social workers who are expected tp provide a large amount of the support that the madrich previously used to provide to the pupils.[58]

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[57] Shalom, H., "The role perception of the madrich in residential settings", in: Adiel, S. et al., (eds.), op. cit., 1980, pp. 295-305.

This state of affairs makes the madrich largely a supervisor of the pupils' participation in the various activities and a punisher of truants. The custodial nature of the role is sometimes explained by the madrichim themselves as a response to the growing tendency of the pupils from disadvantaged groups to reject the school's management, and to regard the madrich as an agent of the management.

However, the changed emphasis in the role of the madrich has not formally changed his role; the impression is that the madrich is still expected to fulfil simultaneously individual and social, custodial and developmental functions, despite the inherent conflicts between these functions.

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[58] Gottesmann, M., "The madrich in the Israeli youth village", Arieli, M. et al., (eds.), op. cit., 1976, pp. 31-55.

(4) The Metapelet

The metapelet complements the madrich in charge of one of the educational groups in the residential school. The metapelet's role prescriptions include caring for the personal cleanliness of the group members, for the cleanliness and tidiness of their rooms, their health and clothing, their eating habits and nourishment, and also their general feeling of well-being.

Together with the madrich, the metapelet is expected to see that the group members get up in the morning. After this she has to supervise the pupils making their beds, cleaning their rooms and going to the dining room for breakfast. During these early morning hours her hands are full urging on those children who do not want to get up, giving basic treatment to sick children or sending them to a clinic.

The metaplot eat lunch with their pupils and in some residential schools supervise or help with the serving of food. When the group members return to the dormitory the metaplot have personal talks with the pupils, particularly those in the younger age groups and apparently particularly with the girls in these groups.

In some of the residential schools the metapelet and the madrich together hold a weekly group meeting to discuss the group's social and organizational problems. In most of the residential schools the metapelet replaces the madrich one evening a week, devising some kind of leisure activity with the pupils for this evening. In most of the residential schools the metapelet takes part in the discussions of the staff in charge of the youth group.[59]

The metapelet's role prescriptions and work schedule described above show that she is required to respond to two groups of needs of the pupils: adaptive needs and tension release needs. The desire to meet these two types of needs through one role-bearer is drawn from the model of the family. The metapelet is perceived as the mother of the group. Indeed, she is called the housemother in some residential schools.

The need to respond to these two groups of needs has led, particularly in the last decade, to the formation of two basic concepts of the metapelet's role with regard to the role-bearer's relationship to the objects of her activity, the pupils: the service-custodial approach and the formative-development approach.

The service-custodial approach is expressed in role components such as keeping order, cleanliness and the timetable; the formative-developmental approach is expressed in components such as caring for the well-being and comfort of the pupils and having supportive talks with the individuals.

These two approaches emphasize the diffuse, obscure and often conflicting aspects of the metapelet's role.

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[59] For a detailed description of the role of the metapelet, see: Yeodot's Symposium, "The metapelet as an educator", Yesodot 5, 1969, pp. 23-32.

It sometimes happens that the metaplot get involved in conflicts resulting from the contradiction between their personal perception of their role and the way it is perceived by their superiors, such as the head of the residential social sub-system and the chief housemother. While she, the metapelet, perceives her role primarily as a formative-developmental one, she feels that her superiors expect her to devote herself first of all to the service-custodial aspects. Sometimes the formal role prescriptions support the formative role concept of the metapelet, but the custodial norms which actually prevail in the residential school constradict this.[60]

The conflict between the custodial and the formative aspects of the metapelet's role appears to be particularly pressing since the custodial aspects are overt and convenient for definition, expectation and reward, while the formative role components exist mainly as an approach and not as definitions of performance.

While the average duration of employment of the madrichim is about two years and they are mostly young men in their twenties, the average duration of the metapelet's employment is about fifteen years and their ages range widely. The fact of their being often many years older than the madrichim with whom they work and than the pupils is regarded as a problem by the older metaplot.

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[60] Shlasky, S., "The metapelet in the residential school", Yesodot 16-17, 1977, pp. 62-73.

C. The Occupational Sub-System

(1) The Framework

Until the mid-fifties the majority of residential schools in Israel, including those not defined as agricultural schools, contained a farm on which the pupils worked.

Work in general, and agricultural work in particular, were perceived as vital for the preparation of pupils for a pioneering life in the framework of rural settlement and as a way of national social regeneration. The traditional concept of residential education which originated in the agricultural schools and in the kibbutz youth groups during the British Mandate attributed to work and equal status with study and social life. Training in agricultural work in the residential school's farm was considered an integral part of the formal school curriculum, similar to the theoretical lessons devoted to various agricultural subjects.[61]

However, from the mid-fifties the status of the farm and the agricultural training in some 70% of the residential schools began to change in two directions.

Some of the ownerships of these schools decided to turn their institutions into vocational or academic secondary schools, or into a species of comprehensive school containing an academic and vocational trend, while some others decided to preserve the agricultural character of the school, but to introduce for all or some of the pupils courses in agromechanics alongside the traditional agricultural studies. In both cases the changes were explained as a response to the accelerated industrialization and urbanization in Israel and to the request of the pupils and their parents to introduce a curriculum designed to prepare them for roles in an industrialized urban society or for a general matriculation certificate leading to university admission.

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[61] Schmidgerg, A., "Education toward work life: the children's own farm", in: Golan, S. et al., (eds.), Generation to Generation: Book of the Mishmar Haemek Educational Institution, Mishmar Haemek, 1948, pp. 116-139; Shor, M., "Agricultural studies and training in the agricultural school" in: Shapira, Y., (ed.), op. cit., 1966, pp. 143-149.

In the residential vocational schools several hours a day are devoted to training in the various technical subjects studied by the pupils. However, this training does not seem to be generally perceived by the pupils and staff as work, but as an essential part of learning the subject.

Nevertheless, to this day all the residential schools tend to regard work as an activity of educational value, or at least to declare so. The general tendency in residential schools that are not agricultural is to engage all the pupils in various services, particularly in the dining-room, in cleaning, gardening and guard duty.[62]

Having the pupils occupied in services appears to have additional implications in two ways: economizing in hired adult labor; and custodial significance, or as one of the Principals put it: "Organized employment prevents idleness, thus preventing delinquent behaviour."

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[62] Manelson, N., "Work in our youth village", Yesodot 2, 1967, pp. 28-30; Schikler, Z., "Education to work (in the youth village)", Yesodot, 16-17, 1977, pp. 48-58.

In the agricultural residential schools a separate sub-system deals with the employment of pupils. The function of this subsystem is to run the farm, whose formal status is equal to that of the schooling and residential social sub-systems.

Generally the tendency of the managements is to employ the pupils in most of the agricultural and vocational branches and also in the services during their first two years of the four-year course. On the other hand this approach appears to be a relic of the approach that used to prevail in the kibbutzim during the British Mandate, of employing the members on a rota system. On the other hand it allows the pupils to experience many kinds of work and choose from among them one or two to specialize in during the next two years. Indeed, some 70% of the third-year pupils in the agricultural schools specialize in one of the farm branches in their third year and approximately half of all the pupils work regularly in the branch they have chosen to specialize in during their last two years at the school.[63]

Out of a sample of third-year pupils in the agricultural schools in 1973/74 who were asked to express their opinion with regard to agricultural work 47% gave a favourable opinion, 15% neutral and 6% expressed a negative attitude. However, 32% did not answer the question presented in the questionnaire.[64]

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[63] Lotan, M. & Ben Yitzhak, Y., op. cit., 1978, p. 47.

[64] Ibid, ibid.

(2) The Branch Coordinator and the Agricultural Instructor

At the head of every branch is a branch coordinator, who is directly subordinate to the head of the occupational sub-system. In the smaller branches the coordinator also serves as the instructor in his field. In the larger branches agricultural instructors work under the branch coordinators.

Since the branch coordinator and the agricultural instructor are responsible both for the production aspects of their branch and for the vocational training of the pupils in the branch, they are the recipient of conflicting expectations from the school management. As the manager of an economic branch the branch coordinator is required to relate to the pupils in a universalist and non-educationally oriented manner; as the performer of educational tasks he is expected to relate in a somewhat particularist manner to the pupils, taking into consideration their training process and rate of development. Formally he belongs to the school's educational staff, but in many of the agricultural schools he does not take part regularly in the meetings of the youth group staff.

D. The Schooling Sub-System

(1) The Framework

The schooling sub-system resembles a day school in its aims and structure; it is often called "the school in the youth village."

Indeed, this sub-system operates as a kind of 4-year secondary school, or as a 6-year school comprising a Middle and Upper School. The academic level of the schools is not uniform: in some of them technical skills are taught at a very low level of sophistication, while in others the standard is considered to be very high relative to Israeli secondary schools as a whole. Some schooling sub-systems offer only one direction of study (agricultural or maritime). Others are comprehensive and offer three or more courses at three levels.

The schooling sub-system generally functions during the morning and early afternoon. The pupils study 36-42 weekly periods.

During the British Mandate and in the early fifties the residential school's curricula were largely determined by the managements, ownerships and the leadership of the "educational stream" in the political movements. The intervention of central authorities such as the "People's Council" ("HaVaad HaLeumi") and later the Ministry of Education was fairly limited. In most of the residential schools, although not in all, the degree of differentiation of the schooling sub-system was somewhat limited.[65]

In the late fifties and in the sixties changes appeared in the nature of the formal curriculum and in the level of differentiation of the schooling sub-system. Some of the residential schools gradually dropped the agricultural studies and replaced them with academic or vocational studies; others began to offer academic and vocational studies alongside the agricultural studies.

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[65] Regev, A., "Changes in agricultural education", in: Shapira, Y., (ed.), op. cit., 1966, pp. 38-65.

With the cancellation of the political educational streams and the establishment of a central State education system the Ministry of Education began to define the schools' formal curriculum, including that of the residential schools. Also, the Ministry of Education, through its various departments, began to supervise the level of teaching and the scholastic achievements.

Two direct results of this process were, on the one hand, the weakening of the influence of the Principals and the ownerships over the decisions of the head of the schooling sub-system, who began to base his authority on his connections with the Ministry of Education, and on the other hand, an increased independence and level of differentiation of the schooling sub-system.

The changes in the formal curriculum and the increased level of differentiation in the schooling sub-system were apparently also a response to the growing interests of many pupils and parents either in studies leading to a profession in an industrialized urban society or in studies providing general education and a certificate (matriculation) permitting university entrance. From the late fifties on many Principals and educators in residential schools began to report on a drop in the status of social life and work as opposed to studies in the pupils' estimation.[66]

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[66] However, Katz reports that the social domain was more esteemed by graduates of agricultural schools during 1958-60 than the schooling and the occupational domains. Katz, G., Follow-up of Graduates of Agricultural Schools 1958-1960, Rehovot, 1966, p. 43.

The independence of the schooling sub-system increased when local children began to be admitted as day pupils in the late fifties. As the day pupils' dependence on the residential school's other sub-system was minimal their entrance into the school led to a growth in the strength and autonomy of the schooling sub-system.

(2) The Teachers

The teachers in the residential schools recieved the same training as teachers in secondary schools; most of them took a first degree at a university in one or two subjects and then were trained as teachers of these subjects.

During the Mandate and in the early fifties many teachers acted in a combined role of teacher and madrich. This combination, which had its origin in the tradition of the kibbutz youth group, brought the teacher-madrich to educational activity of an expressive social character alongside the instrumental teaching activity.

With the increased differentiation in the structure of the residential school there was a decrease in the number of educational workers acting as teacher-madrich. However, several teachers are former madrichim who received university training for teaching roles while working as madrichim.

Today the role of the teacher in the residential school is characterized by a conflict resulting from the contrast between the differentiated structure of the school and the expectation directed toward the teacher, as to all the educational staff, to relate to the pupils in a diffuse and particularist manner.

The teachers, particularly the form masters and mistresses, are considered to be part of the youth group staff and expected to take an active part in discussions concerning the pupils. This activity is connected with the demand that the teachers relate in a diffuse and particularistic manner to the totality of the pupil's personality and avoid making universalistic achievement demands in studies. This approach is particularly strong in recent years, since most of the residential school pupils are considered to be in need of rehabilitation and support owing to their disadvantaged social background.

E. The Treatment Sub-System

From the time they were established the residential schools in Israel were perceived as educational settings rather than child care institutions. The pupils were perceived as ordinary children who had to be schooled and have certain social values and norms inculcated in them and the staff members were perceived as educators, that is, adults whose role it was to perform the functions of schooling the children and inculcating in them values and norms. In contrast to child care institutions the residential schools were not populated by children who were considered deviant and in need of rehabilitation, treatment or resocialization, and the majority of the staff members were not members of treatment professions trained in the behavioural sciences.

In recent years, apparently as a result of growing awareness on the part of the ownerships and the placement agencies concerning the possibilities opened by the treatment professions for treating youths with a background of social distress, small treatment subsystems developed in some of the residential schools. These subsystems include 1-4 workers, whose professional background is not uniform: educational councellors, social workers and clinical school psychologists. However, all the treatment workers have fairly uniform role prescriptions: providing consultation to the educational staff and treating the individual pupil.[67]

(1) Consultation to the Educational Staff

The treatment worker is expected to maintain contacts with the educational staff, particularly with the madrichim and metaplot, sometimes in the framework of the formal meetings of the group's interdisciplinary staff. At these meetings the educational worker is expected to bring up problems which trouble him in his work with the pupils as a group or as individuals, or problems concerning his relations with his colleagues on the staff, while the treatment worker is expected to respond to the educational worker, help him to work through the various dilemmas and sometimes give him straightforward advice.

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[67] Shariv, O., "The role of the social worker in the educational residential setting", Youth Aliyah Bulletin, July, 1976, pp. 56-58.

The attitude of the educational workers to the role of the treatment worker as their consultant is often ambivalent.

On the one hand, the high incidence in the residential school of pupils from disadvantaged social backgrounds appears to have increased the number of pupils who make the educational worker's job difficult. In this situation he tends to seek support and advice from the professional treatment worker.

On the other hand, the entrance of the treatment worker into the residential school is accompanied by clear signs of reluctance on the part of the educational workers.

Firstly, the educational workers, particularly those with little formal training, see the entrance of the individual worker with his esoteric knowledge and the prestige this knowledge carries as an act endangering their status and with it their influence on the management and pupils.

Secondly, the educational workers, who are exposed to constant and diffuse contact with the pupils, tend sometimes to estimate the short time spent by the treatment worker with the difficult pupil as an expression of limited involvement with the pupils and their problems and as unwillingness to bend themselves fully to the task of solving the problems.

The most outstanding problem in the role of the treatment worker as a consultant is, therefore, the occasional tendency of the educational staff to avoid contact and cooperation with him.

(2) Treatment of Pupils

The treatment worker is expected to help the individual pupil to work out his personal and social problems. In some of the residential schools there are established procedures to help the individual pupil to approach the treatment worker on his own initiative. However, the pupils who are under the care of the treatment worker are generally those referred by the educational staff because of behaviour perceived by them as deviant or troublesome.

Since the treatment worker concentrates on the personality and motives of the individual, it sometimes happens that the individual treatment is perceived by the educational staff and the management of the residential school as a process providing legitimization to the failure to achieve norms; that is, as a process opposed to their educational goals.

Residential settings in Israel as in other countries include a variety of populations (aged, ill, delinquent, mentally retarded emotionally disturbed). In this paper we concentrate on one kind of organization, that which is widely represented in Israel, namely the residential educational setting. Settings which deal with non-school age groups are out of the scope of this paper notwithstanding the fact, that as organizations they may have common features with the setting described here. We have also not described settings for specialized (handicapped) children and youth. We think that those organizations are very similar to residential settings elsewhere. As we have stated above, settings for special populations have attempted to emulate the general organization of the more regular residential schools. The organizers were probably usually not cognizant of the "professional" concepts for the organization of "special settings". As the need for special treatment became apparent they set up "special"settings. They were special because of the population, not the organization. Only with the gradual influx of professional know-how, mainly from the U.S.A., these settings became more and more "special". The present trend in Israel in the field of special care is toward, small "family-like" "group-home" settings.

F. Patterns of Movement Within the Structure

This section will deal mainly with the agricultural residential schools - because some of the features distinguishing agricultural from non-agricultural schools.

Most of the agricultural residential schools are of four years duration and are designed for pupils who have completed the 8-year primary school. A few of the schools are 6-year schools and include a 3-year Middle School and a 3-year Upper School. These are open to pupils who have competed the 6-year primary school, that is 13-18 year olds.

45 to 50% of the pupils who are admitted to the first year of the agricultural residential school complete the four- or six-year course. Of those who terminate their studies at various stages many leave for reasons that may be described as positive: return home to continue studying at a day school.[68]

(1) Placement

Tomer found that in a national sample of pupils who had finished the 6- or 8-year primary school in places defined in Israel as disadvantaged communities, 41% of the pupils and 38.7% of their parents chose for them to continue their secondary studies in residential frameworks (residential school or kibbutz youth group).[69] Lotan and Ben Yitzhak found that 57% of the pupils in the first year of agricultural residential schools (as compared with 63% in secondary day schools) perceive the school as a framework helping them to achieve status expectations.[70] These findings are some indication, although indirect and incomplete, that education in agricultural residential schools is not perceived as stigmatizing the pupils or particularly low in prestige among the social strata from whom most of the pupils of these schools are recruited, and among the pupils themselves.

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[68] Shalom, H., Pupils Who Leave Youth Aliyah's Framework - Process, Dimensions, Reasons, Jerusalem, 1978. See also Shlasky, S., "Dropping out from residential settings - social and organizational causes", Alim, autumn 1979, pp. 36-43.

[69] Tomer, A., op. cit., 1976.

[70] Lotan, M. and Ben Yitzhak, Y., op. cit., 1978, pp. 27-28.

Education in the residential school is not, generally, the only option open to the pupils for their continued education after finishing primary school. However, although there are no precise data on this, it is estimated that since the early seventies some 20-22% of all the secondary school pupils described as disadvantaged on the basis of their socio-economic background actually studied in residential school.

The application to the residential school is made directly by the parents to the school management or to one of the placement agencies. Alternatively, applications are made to one of the placement agencies through representatives of community agencies such as the headmaster of the primary school, the school's educational counsellor, the regular attendance officer, social worker or psychologist in community services.

The screening and placement methods of Youth Aliyah are typical if not identical with the methods employed by other agencies.

The pupils come to the Youth Aliyah offices, accompanied by one of the parents, bringing a school report, a document referring to the family's financial situation and a letter of referral from an appropriate community agency. The placement official interviews the candidate and the parent. A sample of the applicants and all the applicants whose level is especially low undergo a battery of personality tests. All the applicants are tested in reading comprehension and arithmetic, and classified into one of four broad categories of scholastic achievements: A, B, C or D. The girls and boys in group D, the lowest group, are referred to special residential schools (preparatory residential schools). The placement officials offer the pupils in groups A, B and C a place in one of the residential schools or kibbutz youth groups, based both on the information collected concerning the candidate and on his and his parents' stated wish.

A FRAMEWORK FOR A SECOND CHANCE?

The impact of the residential school on the affective and social development of disadvantaged adolescents tends toward the positive, as evidenced in several studies.[71] However, the disadvantaged residential school pupil, to judge by other observations[72] does not, on coming to the school, stand trembling with awe at the gates. These observations tend to indicate that he is more or less prepared for what he is coming to, on the basis of information gleaned from parents, older siblings and friends who have spent some time in residential settings. It is doubtful whether he feels any anxiety about the "closed" and structured world of the residential school, an image prevalent in literature on residential settings.[73] His prior judgements are fairly clear with regard to some objects of reference he is about to meet: people and domains, and with regard to others he does not hesitate to change his attitudes, particularly in the direction of limiting the setting's nearness to him, and perhaps even its influence on him. He tends to reject the "totality" of the institution, to the extent that this exists. He is not an easy object to be swallowed up in the culture of the setting; he is not an easy object for acts of cultural colonization or cooptation. He does not regard the setting as his home, nor the metaplot and madrichim as substitute parents; nor does he expect the teachers to bring about sweeping changes in his schooling career or his social standing. Is this mistrust or disappointment with adults and their possible influence on him, or is it perhaps an accumulation of disappointments from past experience with the socialization organizations he has hitherto experienced in the depriving home environment, or possibly a combination of the two? Possibly, but we have no evidence to support this.

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[71] See, for example, Smilansky & Nevo, op. cit., 1979; Kashti, Y., op. cit., 1979; Kashti, Y., Socially Disadvantaged Youth in Residential Education in Israel, unpublished D. Phil. thesis, The University of Sussex, 1974; Feuerstein, R. et al., "The effects of Group Care on the psychosocial habilitation of immigrant adolescents in Israel with special reference to high-risk children", International Review of Applied Psychology, 25, 1976, pp. 189-201; Lotan & Ben Yitzhak, op. cit., 1978.

[72] Arieli, M., The Role of Disadvantaged Pupils in Israeli Residential Schools, Unpublished D. Phil. thesis, The University of Sussex, 1980; Kashti, Y., & Arieli, M., "The attitude of pupils toward people and life domains in the youth village", in: Meiri, S. (ed.), Yesodoth: Thirty Years of Residential Education, Tel-Aviv, 1980, pp. 208-218.

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[73] See, for example, Street et al., op. cit., 1966.

The observations tend further to indicate that the pupil's motvies in setting his priorities as a residential school pupil derive from his expectations for the future and his preparation for it, and are often formed before entering the residential setting. Perhaps the residential school helps to consolidate his motives and expectations, and obviously helps him to prepare himself for his future role, but only rarely does it tend to instil in him these motives and expectations or form them.

In other words, before entering the residential school the pupils have been socialized towards support or rejection of a large number of "items" in that new setting. This presocialization, or anticipated socialization, is apparently the main key to the understanding of their priorities.

The residential school pupil does not seem to wish for highly structured relationships, organizational formations and authority, particularly when these are associated with adult figures. He understands and appreciates order and discipline, but he does not want these to be forced on him in a patronizing manner.

The observations show that with the passage of time he tends to open up to the members of his peer group. The formal "Youth Group" in the residential setting, that "historical entity" which has been the subject of changing rationales throughout the years and is today regarded by youth village educators as a solution to many of the problems of the individual and the society, a strong source of support and resocialization - this formal group does not tend to arouse the pupil to the anticipated involvement and identification.

It seems that the pupil's career leads in the direction of instrumental goals. He "knows" he has to be orderly and observe the rules, he knows the value of good friends and informal involvement in his peers' life, he knows he has to study and be active in the lessons and he has learned, in the course of his time at the residential school, that work can be a thing of value, and even interesting and satisfying.

These kinds of knowledge on the level of relations with friends and at work often remain in their instrumental wrapping throughout the pupil's entire time in the setting.

The oft stated advantage of the residential setting on the educational level, that is, the possibility of setting and realizing expressive goals for the pupil, of a quality and scope largely unattainable in other socialization settings - this option does not find expression in recent studies.[74]

It seems clear that we do not have here the subdued inmates of a total institution, nor young members of the elite being coopted to their school culture, leading them smoothly, or roughly, to the status of prominent civil servants and pioneers. We have here a setting which is largely a reflection of daily life as it is perceived by its disadvantaged pupils, although it maintains some of the features of its tradition. But the pupils try to circumvent these "historical strongholds", expressing reservations towards their guards. The traditional input of this socialization setting, particularly in the ideological and expressive domains, appears to be lost, and its disadvantaged pupils mainly draw from it what they had wanted before they entered it.

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[74] Arieli, op. cit., 1980.

The residential school seems to emerge as a framework for a second chance for those whose chances tend to be limited. And they seem to make the utmost use of it for their needs in the way they themselves understand and define these needs.

ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE AND PUPILS' RESPONSE

Various studies and observations seem to indicate that residential schools have undergone a process of change during the last three decades; this process being of similar dimensions but of different levels of intensity in each school.[75] The change can be summed up as (a) decrease in level of ideological closedness; (b) the shifting of the guiding social orientation from status to role preparation; (c) an increase in the importance that staffs attribute to instrumental aims; (d) decentralization of organizational structure; (e) increase in staff's role differentiation; and (f) increase in centrality of professional affiliation as an occupational frame of reference for many staff members.

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[75] See, for example, Kashti, Y. & Arieli, M., "Toward a classification of residential settings", in: Nevo, D., (ed.), Theory & Research in Educational Practice, Tel-Aviv, 1977.

(a) Decrease in Level of Ideological Closedness

The Principals of ideologically "closed" schools have gradually ceased attempts to recruit their junior staff from among individuals who are ideologically committed to either the general ethos of pioneering or, more specifically, to the movements which own the settings. Principals of party-owned schools and their management committees have "opened" their settings and have begun to recruit heads of important sub-systems, such as the schooling and the residential sub-systems, from among professionals who are not identified with the party.

(b) Shifting of Guiding Social Orientation from Status to Role Preparation

Until the early 1950's schools' educational programs aimed at extending the range of the socializing process to the overall status of the pupil, and in a diffuse and integrative manner to develop his self-perception beyond his specific future roles. However, since the late 1960's it seems that the programs tend, in varying degrees, to limit the influence of the socialization process to training the pupils towards taking differentiated and specific roles in the adult society in which they are expected to participate.

(c) Increase in the Importance that Staff Attribute to Instrumental Aims

Until the early 1950's expressive goals used to be considered main goals or at least equal in importance to instrumental goals, both at the stated and implemented levels. This meant, for example, that the financial resources allotted to extracurricular activities and the prestige of the madrichim were not significantly lower than the resources allotted to schooling and the prestige of the teachers. At present, it seems that the latent message transmitted by the senior to the junior staff and to the pupils is that schooling and schoolmasters are more highly valued than social activities and madrichim.

(d) Decentralization of Organizational Structure

In the early 1950's the schools were characterized by a centralized pattern of organization. This was reflected in the nature of their internal and external organizational relations. The school's decisions tended to be made by the Principal who, as he saw fit, delegated certain executive power to the heads of the sub-systems and they, in turn, to their deputies according to a hierarchical pattern. The school's relations with the outside world were also largely initiated and regulated by the Principal, who served almost as the exclusive agent and transmitter of the norms and expectations of the external systems (the party, the management committee, Youth Aliyah, Ministry of Education, etc.) to all ranks of the school.

Since the late 1950's these centralized features have been replaced by decentralized ones. The changes are reflected in the structure of internal relations within the staff. These relations are now characterized in the schools by a fairly high level of autonomy of the heads of the sub-systems as regards policy of their units, the relative freedom of decision allowed to low-ranking members of the staff, and the status - of coordinator of more or less autonomous sub-systems - assigned to the Principal. The school's relations with external agencies tend to be based on the autonomy of the heads of the sub-systems in maintaining direct relationships with role partners outside the system.

(e) Increase in Staff's Role Differentiation

In the early 1950's the areas of activity and the roles of the staff in all the schools were not highly differentiated and were often even diffuse or interchangeable. In many cases the educator - a role combining formal and informal functions - acted as both schoolmaster and madrich.

Since the mid-1950's the relations of staff members with the pupils have become relatively differentiated. This is reflected, among other things, in the fact that these relations have become largely delineated by the specific skill and the definition of the staff member's role.

(f) Increase in Centrality of Professional Affiliation as an Occupational Frame of Reference for Many Staff Members

In the 1950's most teachers at the schools tended to consider the organization in which they worked as their most significant occupational frame of reference. This was probably partly due to the fact that teachers tended to live in the setting, and partly due to their relative lack of qualifications.

At present most teachers, the counselors and the social workers in all the schools seem to attribute more significance to their professional identity than to their organizational affiliation. In general, teachers, counselors and social workers are more qualified now and live outside the school campus.

In fact, all the six dimensions of change offered here can be described as six aspects of the movement from "closedness" to "openness". These six changes can be similarly described according to their nearness to or distance from the poles of six continui. The following diagram is a reflection of an attempt to give a general graphic expression to assumed positions that Israeli residential schools in general seem to have held on these continui in 1950, two years after the emergence of the State of Israel, and in the 1970's.

The Open Model			The Closed Model
ideological openness	1970s x	1950 x	ideological closedness
role socialization	1970s x	1950 x	status socialization
centrality of instrumental goals	1970s x	1950 x	centrality of expressive roles
decentralization	1970s x	1950 x	centralization
differentiated staff roles	1970s x	1950 x	diffuse staff roles
professional norms	1970s x	1950 x	organizational norms

It will be recalled that in the first years of the State the residential school largely took the place of the kibbutz youth group of the 1930's and 1940's, and acquired some of its characteristics. The staff members' commitment to the agricultural and pioneering ideology as a super-ordinate goal continued to give residential education and elitist character on the pattern of the classic kibbutz youth group. In this situation the pupils tended to identify with their educators and to internalize their social concepts. Various observations lead us to assume that the reduced commitment of the staff members to any super-ordinate goal led - at least partly - to reduced identification of the pupils with the staff and their social goals, and an increased need to create an alternative system which would provide objects for their loyalty, not deriving from the values of the staff.

By its very nature education for settling on the land, which continued to characterize the youth village in the early years of the State, tended to avoid training the pupils in specific skills or for professional diplomas, and stressed "general education", or "education of the person". The status socialization of the "pioneer" or the "settler" entailed a life-style which encompassed every aspect of the pupils' lives: in the classroom, at work and in social activities, was considerably consistent and limited the possibilities of internal conflicts. It seems to us that as the residential schools shifted from status socialization to role socialization, namely, training pupils in specific skills, and as the unifying themes receded, the pupils tended to resort to alternative or supplementary social frameworks offering compensating cohesion.

The growing importance of preparing the individual for a career, a diploma and a profession, limited the pupils' opportunities to engage in expressive activities. The formal status of the madrich, who is responsible for activities of a tension-relieving nature, declined as his more central function in the past, the social and ideological function was to some extent pushed aside.

Thus, it may be that as the expressive activity loses status in the formal system, the pupils resort to an alternative system permitting these activities in an informal manner.

As the staff members' commitment to a unifying social theme decreases, and with the growing importance of instrumental training for differential roles, the centralized organizational pattern of the setting tends often to be replaced by a decentralized pattern. Hence, the residential school gradually ceases to provide the pupils with a cohesive organization having coordinated expectations. The decentralization of the organization in itself also adds to the need for an alternative or supplementary system based on the peers.

The more the education tends to take on an instrumental character, and the more differentiated its goals become, the greater seems to be the need for staff members with specific specializations. The professional with specific and esoteric specialization tends to restrict his contacts with the pupils to the area in which he is training them, a process which denies the pupil diffuse interaction with significant adults holding status - the power structure of the organization.

The growing role differentiation of some of the staff members, particularly the teachers, is also, apparently, related to the diminished status of the setting as their occupational frame of reference. The sources of their role norms are outside the residential school, in the disciplines they specialized in, the universities where they studied, the professional associations to which they belong, or hope to belong. With the increased importance of the professional frame of reference for the staff member, his solidarity with the organization seems to decrease. He is no longer a "local" group leader, but a "cosmopolitan" professional who chances to be in a bureaucratic organization. Perhaps the pupils' informal system which provides leaders for the peer group, is designed to compensate also for the loss in leaders from the setting's formal system.

It seems to us that the more "open" the residential schools are, the more the pupils tend to feel frustration and lack of identification, leading to the creation of a compensatory and supplementary informal system which rejects the set-up of the unsatisfactory formal system.

This attitude of the pupils may be explained, at least partly, as a reaction to the differences in the structure of the residential schools, resulting from the differential changes that occurred in them.

In those residential schools where there is least commitment on the part of the staff members to an ideology, where the emphasis is on socialization for differential roles and instrumental aims, where the organizational pattern is decentralized, where many of the staff perform differentiated functions and regard their professional affiliation as their central occupational frame of reference - the pupils seem to feel abandoned by the adult.[76]

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[54] Although the pupils themselves tend to stress instrumental objectives, they expect the staff to stress expressive aspects and to relate to them in a supportive manner.

The price of the change expressed in the decline of "closedness", in the reduced importance of expressive activities, in decentralization of the organization, in professionalization of many staff members and role differentiation of the staff appears, therefore, to be a feeling of being deserted and a reaction of reservation or rejection on the part of the pupils towards the formal organization of the residential school and its staff.

CURRENT CHALLENGES

Residential schools in Israel tend to succeed in supporting the development of self-esteem, achievement orientation and value attitudes in various social fields.[77]

However, this advantage becomes manifest in the eleventh grade, and it must be noted that it is a fairly selective population that has reached this senior grade. The members of these groups have reached the eleventh grade while large numbers of their peers dropped out from the residential schools and probably from the entire education system during and after the ninth and the tenth grades.[78] Those who remain in the settings after many trying formal and informal tests tend to regard themselves as an elite group within the residential setting. It seems possible that it is this factor which accounts for their relative high self-esteen and achievement orientation. It has also been observed that residential school pupils tend to regard "work" and their agricultural instructors as significant objects of reference.

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[77] See note 70.

[78] See: Shalom, H., Pupils Who Leave Youth Aliyah's Framework - Process, Dimensions, Reasons, Jerusalem, 1978.

In the secondary school for mostly disadvantaged pupils, which functions in an environment somewhat isolated from the community, the pupils perhaps remain frustrated from their scholastic achievements. They find compensation at work in the farm and some support from the agricultural instructors who become vitally significant others in the process of developing and sustaining a positive self-image. However, this compensation, which filling an important function within the setting, is perhaps of a lesser value in the wider social context: competence in farming seems to ensure less upward mobility than competence in the academic subjects.

Residential schools which serve mostly disadvantaged pupils, like other socialization organizations which act in similar fields and with a similar level of legitimation, tend to function as agencies which recruit members to the lower strata of the social system. In this sense the Israeli residential school tends, perhaps, somewhat to function as an agency for reproducing the current social structure.

One of the major challenges of this socialization agency is attracting large numbers of pupils from relatively more successful social and educational groups. This would make it possible for the settings to function as heterogeneous schools which provide their disadvantaged pupils chances for some upward social mobility.

At one and the same time the residential school must find ways to re-introduce some of its historic features of "closedness": some kind of an ideological unity and commitment, orientation toward status rather than role socialization, more emphasis on expressive aims, more centralized, or at least, co-ordinated organizational structure, less differentiation in the roles of the staff and more adherence to organizational rather than professional norms. These seem to increase the chance that disadvantaged pupils would identify the staff as people who are committed towards their pupils' progress and are sincerely involved in their lives.

DIMENSIONS OF RESIDENTIAL EDUCATION IN ISRAEL - PROCEEDINGS OF THE 1979-1980 SEMINAR

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THE FUNCTION OF YOUTH VILLAGES IN THE WIDER SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT OF ISRAELI SOCIETY - A MACRO-SOCIAL VIEW: - AN OPENING STATEMENT

R. Shapira

The following discussion will suggest some points of departure for description and analysis of residential education on the macro social level. The major arguments are derived from the social reality of youth villages in Israel, and illustrated by examples from two very different institutions - one situated in the heart of an urban center, the other located outside the city, in a rural environment.

A macro-social discussion of youth villages in Israel must encompass three different dimensions, each of them subdivided into two separate aspects.

a) The first dimension refers to what is channelled into the residential setting from the outside, i.e., the setting's social input. This dimension has two aspects - the students' social input and the social input of the staff.

b) The second dimension is the relationship of the institution to is immediate environment. Every organization is an integral part of some wider social context, and must respond and interact with this environment in certain ways. Here again, we discuss two aspects - the aspect of the staff and the actual relationship between the Internat and the environment.

c) The third dimension is that of social output. This dimension also will be discussed from two points of view - on the individual and macro-social levels.

Henceforth, we shall explain and discuss in detail the three dimensions suggested above, and attempt to illustrate some of our arguments through examples from residential settings visited recently.

As sociologists, our first step should be to describe and analyze youth villages, or any other residential educational settings, as part of the social system in which they function, stressing the dynamic interrelationship between the two. Our next step should be to see residential education in Israel in a comparative perspective, comparing it to other educational frameworks such as schools, youth movements, youth clubs, etc.

a) Starting with the student-input dimension, it should be stressed that about 85% to 90% of the students in youth villages are from middle-eastern origin. Their families are usually in the low-income bracket, the fathers having, at best, primary schooling and work at non-skilled or semi-skilled occupations. As to the personal background of the youngsters, many of them arrive at the boarding school as a result of a process of negative selection, having been rejected or "dropped-out" of regular schools. The combination of these characteristics indicate a syndrome of social marginality. The social marginality of the major part of the student body in youth villages may be educationally significant in several possible instances. On the one hand, in cases of marginality, separation of the youngster from his family may turn into a positive factor, affording him a fresh start. On the other hand, the placing of youngsters of similar marginal background in a segregated, homogeneous environment may turn into a negative factor creating a social climate in which students reinforce each others weaknesses.

Looking at the same problem from the point of view of the staff: members of staff may be of the same social background as the students and be recruited through a process of negative selection. This fact could be an educational advantage if they become positive models for the students. However, the danger exists that the socio-economic dimilarity might enhance the emergence of a negative subculture.

To illustrate the case with two examples from the two settings mentioned above: in one institution the students are mostly from middle-easter origin, while members of staff, including service staff, come in the main from Western countries. In the second institution, the situation is completely reversed - here students, service staff and counsellors (tutors) are of middle-eastern origin, the teachers being mainly of Western origin. In the first case, the dividing line was between staff and "clients" while in the latter, the division overlapped the relative status in the educational hierarchy.

b) As to the second dimension - the institution's pattern of interaction with its environment: From the staff's point of view, several questions should be asked: The first relates to the amount of commuting of staff members between the youth village and the surrounding community. The amount of daily commuting may influence the social climate of the social climate of the residential setting and effect the extent to which it should be defined as either an open or closed system, and the type and amount of resources regularly flowing into it.

The second relevant point is the level of professionalization of the staff. What kind of training do different members of the staff have? Are the teachers fully qualified? Are they especially trained for teaching in a residential framework? How do members of staff define their role from a subjective point of view - do they consider themselves an integral part of the high school teacher population in the educational system at large - or do they see themselves as participating in a separate and unique social milieu? The answers to these questions will shape the nature of the relationship between the boarding school and other social bodies, such as teachers' organizations, etc.

As to the relation of the residential framework as an organization to its social environment, several relevant questions come to mind; does the institute conceive of itself, - and as a result is it conceived by society, - as an isolated, segregated unit which happened to be located where it is - or as an integral part of the community? Where do the students come from - the immediate surrounding community - or all over the country - a fact which effects the mode of integration of the residential setting in the community.

Another relevant question in this context is the question of the Institute's "reference group". Do Youth Villages, for instance, compare themselves to other residential settings, to regular High Schools, to schools which cater mainly to the disadvantaged population, to Youth Movements, etc.?

Different "Reference groups" will create different self-images and different expectations.

Thus, Boarding Schools face three dilemmas as to their relationship with the environment: isolation versus community-centered orientation, recruiting students from the neighborhood or from all over the country, and choosing between many possible "reference groups".

In order to illustrate these dilemmas, let us go back to the example of the two institutions referred to above. One of them is located in the center of a medium-sized town, but it opted for isolation. The students are kept busy all day long, so as to prevent them from leaving the school's grounds. The students in this setting come from all over the country (only 40 out of 350 students come from the immediate vicinity), and the institution's reference group is constituted of other Boarding-Schools. The second Youth Village is geographically far from any major city, but socially it opted for the community-centered approach. The students are free to come and go, and indeed forty percent of them have families in the neighborhood. They see other High Schools as their reference group, and they compete with them, both in Sports and in other fields. They even wear the uniform which is worn by High School kids all over the country.

Our hypothesis is that the more open and community-oriented a setting is, the less stigmatized it will be.

c) The third dimension of our discussion relates to the output of residential education, both from the individual and the macro-social point of view. On the individual level, the question of output has two distinct aspects - the socialization aspect and the allocation aspect. Some research was done in Israel concerning the first aspect and dealing with cognitive, affective and normative outputs. There is very little research relevant to the second aspect, and available data mostly focuses on the gifted disadvantaged. Still, from what little systematic knowledge at our disposal, we may conclude that the major success of residential education in Israel in the seventies is not fostering upward mobility, but removing marginal youth from the streets, and turning them into persons able to function adequately in the Army, as parents and in the labor market. It is interesting to note that this minimal, even "negative" goal is accepted by both parents and social workers, but rejected by teachers, who stress cognitive achievement.

On the macro-social level, residential education in Israel can boast of some success in the normative field, fostering commitment to societal values and norms. However, outputs are very meagre from the stratification system's point of view. In fact, Youth Villages in Israel today do not serve as a major mobility channel-lower-class youngsters who graduate from this educational setting tend to remain in the lower achelons of society. This is a major problem the residential educational system will have to reckon with in the very near future.

THE PLACE OF RESIDENTIAL EDUCATION IN ISRAEL DURING THE LAST DECADE

Y. Kashti

In most societies, residential education is characterized by a definite polarization in its orientations relating to two major aspects:

1) The socio-economic background of the student body;
2) The educational goals on which residential education is focused.

As a result, most boarding schools are aimed at the two extremes of the socio-economic continuum: they either concentrate on the disadvantaged, the deprived, or the juvenile delinquent groups, or, like the English public schools, cater to elite groups. Thus, boarding schools tend to emphasize resocialization and rehabilitation on the one hand, and a very selective elite education on the other. In the USSR an attempt was made to overcome this tendency towards polarization by widening the basis for student recruitment. In fact, boarding schools located in the big cities turned into Internats for the disadvantaged.

Residential education in Israel is unique in successfully catering, for several decades, to the "middle range" of the social continuum. The reasons for this success may be found both in the immediate needs of Israeli society at the time, such as speedy absorption of great numbers of new immigrants, and in the prevailing normative attitudes which placed residential education within the realm of the ideological mainstream. This congenial normative background enabled the Israeli boarding schools to absorb a very heterogeneous population.

In a social-historical perspective, boarding schools in Israel were characterized during the '20's and '30's, by a "closed" structure and a centralized role system focusing on peer-group and on collective social goals. They defined themselves as terminal educational organizations and trained their students for well-defined future roles. The basic conception of the youth villages stems from three main sources:

1) The successful model of the children and youth village "Ben Shemen" and a few others, and the success of the "youth group" (Hevrat Noar) in Kibbutzim;
2) The immediate social constraints, i.e. the pressing need to assure youngsters without families of a stable residential and educational environment;
3) The pioneering ideology, which the graduates were supposed to implement.

Youth villages, as well as agricultural schools and "Hevrot Noar", served simultaneously as socialization or re-socialization agents and as channels for mobilizing youth into elite groups.

Graduates of these educational frameworks join the organization on an ascriptive-collectivistic basis, while late selection processes use expressive criteria. Thus, residential education in Israel served as a socio-culturla integrating vehicle for its students, while recruiting the most committed to central social roles carrying positive social rewards. Youth villages were characterized by a unique combination of structural closure together with a marked social openness, and a high degree of prestige. The special "ethos" of the youth village was culturally approved despite ongoing social change and continuous adjustment to new societal needs.

Although this historical "ethos" of the youth villages was preserved, internal conflicts emerged within the framework of residential education in Israel. Most of these conflicts stemmed from the persistence of the traditional patterns of attitude and action as against new values and attitudes among the student body.

The fact that from the late '40's the students lacked pre-socialization to the residential organization caused a high rate of rejection of its message. During the '50's and '60's, youth villages functioned mainly as mediating organizations, reducing the stress involved in immigration and adaptation to a new social and cultural environment. At the same time, agricultural boarding schools were gradually removed from their previous elite status, while still preventing negative selection processes into the student body. The dominant response to social change was to strengthen the vocational dimension, and switch from particularistic to universalistic rewards by preparing the students for matriculation examinations and establishing tracks leading towards higher education.

The majority of residential institutions functioned during this period as re-socialization agencies geared to the needs of an immigrant population confronting a new social reality, new cultural values, norms and symbols. Mobility chances of this population were mostly deemed as secondary relative to the main goal of making the new immigrants members in the absorbing society.' This basic approach was interconnected with a somewhat negative image of the student body, especially those who came from the Arab countries, stressing their traditional "underdeveloped" background and their need for "treatment" and "rehabilitation". At the same time, expectations as to output of the educational process were considerably lowered (for example - high drop-out rate, establishing some types of "short-range" educational programs, daily "youth centers" as a substitute for residential care, etc.).

During the late '60's, and at the beginning of the '70's, rapid change occurred in the composition of the student body in boarding schools. Youth Aliyah changed it traditional policy and started enrolling in its residential institutions, youngsters who were born in Israel. The reason for this change in policy was the need to tackle the problems of "disadvantaged" youth from middle-eastern origins via residential education. The basic techniques were supposedly separating the youngster from his impoverished environment, creating for him a meaningful peer group, teaching him through methods especially adapted to his capacities and motivation, and at the same time acquiring the standards set by the educational authorities. During the years the percentage of students from middle-eastern origin in the residential setting reached 85%. In Youth Aliyah institutions the majority of the student body is of the medium-low achievement group, originating from low status, oriental families.

Thus, by the late '70's residential schools in Israel tended to become homogeneous, somewhat segregative organizations catering to youngsters recruited through negative selection. The fact that residential schools concentrated on disadvantaged groups, brought an influx of financial resources, expanding the residential system, without, at the same time, developing adequate human resources to handle this expansion. Experienced well-trained staff became more and more rare.

One of the major difficulties faced by residential education in Israel today, stems from its declared intention to "rehabilitate the disadvantaged". This orientation has major negative ramifications for the interaction between the "staff" and the "disadvantaged students". The emphasis on rehabilitation and at the same time the effort ot uphold standards considered normative in the educational system, may have created a gap and even a clash between the formal and informal systems within the residential settings. Such a trend usually either strengthens the totalistic aspect of the residential setting or causes a slackening of standards on the educational-organizational level. The high drop-out rate from residential schools may well be explained by one or both of these trends.

Clearly, both the overt and latent goals of residential education in Israel need to be re-examined in the light of societal changes. At the same time, their organizational structure, internal dynamics and educational output should be re-evaluated. There is good reason to believe that most residential schools today function in a dual and even conflicting capacity: they try to evolve a certain diffuse social and cultural integration, the practical manifestation of which is separating the student from his supposedly negative environment, while at the same time acting as segregative organizations, carrying very little prestige, and sometimes even stigmatizing. Up to the '60's the traditional ethos of the youth village seems to have sufficed to preserve the integrative trend, but during the '70's this ethos was eroded, the soical conditions were changed, with the result that the segregative aspect had become dominant. The fact that nowadays there are about 5,000 vacancies in boarding schools is clear evidence of the changes in the place and function of residential education in Israel.

STUDENTS ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE FORMAL AND INFORMAL FEATURES OF RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS

M. Arieli

The major rationale of residential education in Israel, one which has not changed much since the early '30's, is the idea of resocialization. In this particular context it means pursuing a policy of intervention in the primary established socialization patterns the student has been exposed to since childhood and during early adolescence - modifying these patterns, and moulding him anew. The residential school and its staff were expected to introduce elements of change into students pre-established socialization patterns. Thus, residential institutions were introduced mainly as resocialization agents.

This is, and was, the stated ideology. It is difficult to sya whether and to what extent it is being followed and implemented by the different institutions in everyday life. This question will not be answered in the present context. We will discuss another question which has two separate aspects. How students react to the above-described ideology, to what extent are youngsters aware of existing policy, and how they respond? More explicity: a) how do students react and relate to the various substructures to which they are exposed in a residential setting? b) how do they react to the institutes' "totality"?

We have at our disposal some evidence which may help us shed some light on these two aspects. This data may be of rather limited scope. However, it may help us gain some insight into the youngsters perceptions and attitudes.

The data was collected in several youth villages. The students were asked to respond to a set of questionnaires, and to evaluate ten different components of the residential setting, according to the degree of importance they ascribed to them. Five items represented different realms of the institution:

1) the youth village as a whole;
2) the peer group;
3) the vocational sphere - the work;
4) the institutional rules and regulations; and
5) the school.

The other five were several of the students' role-partners in the educational setting:

1) friends;
2) house-mothers;
3) counsellors (madrichim);
4) teachers; and
5) vocational instructors.

The students were asked to make two statements about each item - one representing a potential behavior, and the other, an attitude. Different cohorts of students were asked to respond to the same set of questions - one cohort a year after enrolling in the institution, the other a year before graduation.

In analyzing the "veterans" answers, it became clear that the youngsters organized the items into three separate clusters, which, on the face of it, do not have a common denominator. However, on the basis of our data, we suggest that one cluster represents items which are idiosyncratic to the residential situation (for instance - the role of the madrich which exists in a special form only in boarding schools). The other cluster included items of a universalistic nature - i.e. items such as teachers and schooling encountered by children everywhere. The third cluster included items which represent a combination of idiosyncratic and universalistic features. For example, the vocational sphere, a universalistic element - is represented in the youth village by agricultural work - an idiosyncratic element. It turned out that the students, especially the "veterans", attributed more importance to those components which combine universalistic and idiosyncratic elements, and gave a low grade in importance to the idiosyncratic components. To summarize our findings along these lines, the youngsters appear to reject precisely those elements which the educational system tries to reinforce in the residential setting. The formally organized peer group, for example, is considered a unique asset to the residential setting, and a powerful socialization agent. Our findings show that the peer group, along with other idiosyncratic elements, is ranked very low in importance by the students. Another example is that of the "madrich". The relative status of this idiosyncratic role deteriorates between the time the children enter the system and the time at which they graduate, slipping from 9th to 19th place on a twenty-item scale.

Referring to our initial question, the students appear to reject the notion of resocialization. They make use of the residential setting in a selective way, choosing to enjoy those aspects which are congruent with their previous patterns of socialization, ignoring or even rejecting those features which represent the creed of resocialization, i.e. the idiosyncratic components. They also attribute very little importance to the universalistic components, an attitude which could be explained by the fact that these components represent an educational milieu in which the youngsters failed before they came to the residential setting - i.e. the milieu of the school. Being instrumentally oriented, the students avoid areas in which they had experienced failure, and elect to concentrate their interests and efforts in more promising fields.

To sum up, our evidence, although partial, suggests that the ideology of resocialization, the banner under which residential education in Israel is presented, is in fact rejected by the student populations.

We turn now to our second question, that of the students' reaction to the "totalistic" aspects of the residential situation and the way in which the informal system of the peers relates to the formal system of the residential setting.

Broadly speaking, one may say that the Israeli residential setting has shifted in the course of the last two or three decades from a fairly "closed", "total" organization towards a more "open" model. The mainstream of residential education in Israel - Youth Aliyah institutions, youth villages and agricultural schools - were characterized in the '30's and '40's by being strongly committed to some form of superordinate goals, revolving around the revolutionizing ideology of turning a rather middle-class group into productive farmers. During the late '40's and '50's, these superimposed goals which were much more pronounced in residential settings than in the educational system at large, lost some of their intensive nature. At the same time, the stress on status socialization, to which these frameworks were strongly committed, was also diminished. While the early youth villages tried to socialize towards the diffuse status of "pioneer", in the '60's and '70's, the emphasis was shifted to role socialization. It must be added that besides the collective goals, residential education in the early stages, also exhibited some expressive individualistic features, combining certain kinds of immediate gratification with strong emphasis on future orientation. This expressive orientation is gradually replaced by an instrumental one.

Another marked change in the structure of residential education in Israel is the shift from a quite centralized organizational structure towards a much more decentralized system. The role of the youth village director, which was the focal decision-making role in every realm of residential life, is gradually losing its central and often dominant place, and decision-making functions tend to be distributed between several administrative and educational roles, both within an without the institution. Another step in the same direction is the process of role differentiation. In the early stages there was almost no differentiation in the role of the individual in charge of the youth group - the madrich. He was both teacher, youth leader, and representative of the political ideology, at the same time fulfilling expressive functions. All these roles were incorporated by the madrich. This diffused role definition has undergone a major change over the last two decades, a process in the course of which the madrich lost several of his functions. Another dimension of change, closely linked to the previous one, is the shift in the locus of professional occupational norms. Twnety-five years ago, strike of teachers in Youth Aliyah settings was almost unthinkable - the organization itself set its own norms and rules. Today, a high percentage of teachers refer to their professional organization as the source of their norms. The introduction of various professional staff members, social workers, psychologists, educational counsellors, enhanced this trend. This phenomenon has two types of outcome - first, it leads to a rather differentiated relationship between staff, the individual student and the youth group - second, it creates a problematic situation in the normative sphere. The professional staff members tend to submit not to the organizational credo, but to their own specific professional norms.

We return to the mian subject of this discussion - the way in which students relate to the system. Our analysis at this point will follow the work done by H. Polsky and R. Lambert and his collaborators on several dimensions of the informal system in the residential setting. Two of these dimensions are very relevant to our discussion. The first dimension is the degree of cohesion of the youth village, the second is the degree to which the informal system accpets and supports the formal one.

Following both Polsky's, Lamberts' and Millhams' work, we suggest a conceptual continuum describing modes of relationship between the formal and informal systems in the residential setting. At one end of this continuum we place the supportive attitude, i.e., the informal system supports the formal one. At the opposite end, we find a rejection of the formal system by the informal one. Along the continuum, and close to the "supportive" end we find the manipulative attitude, and closer to the "rejection" end, the detached or passive attitude.

Our suggestion, based on our data, is that the more a residential setting preserves its "totalistic" character, (i.e. retains its superordinate goals, the centralized structure, an expressive orientation, etc.) the more supportive will the informal system be of the formal one.

A possible explanation of this somewhat puzzling finding is that while a residential setting moves away from the "totalistic" end of the continuum, supposedly opting for a more "open" structure, it enhances in its students a feeling of being abandoned and deserted, fostering a sense of alienation and ultimately, even rejection.

It seems that one of the current challenges of residential settings in Israel, is to find a way of "reaching out" to students, making them feel the staff is involved in their lives and willing to support them beyond the limited commitment which is implied in their formal roles.

MULTI-CODE SCHOOLS: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE ANALYSIS OF BOARDING SCHOOLS

R. Kahane

The purpose of this paper is to suggest a conceptual framework and theoretical outline for the analysis of boarding schools. We define such a school in its "ideal type" as a multiple structure in which various antagonistic codes - including formal, professional, informal, primary, and even delinquent ones - are in constant interplay. It is our hypothesis that the relative strength of these codes and the way they are clustered determine the nature and the impact of boarding schools.

The term "boarding school" as used here refers to residential, highly intensive, comprehensive, isolated contexts for socialization, which serve as partial substitute homes for youths. Different kinds of schools possess these attributes - monastery schools, kibbutz children' societies, military academies, English public schools, various corrective institutions, etc. These vary greatly both as to their student body and their educational curricula (e.g., they may be vocational, social, classical or recreational oriented), and encompass a great variety of activities based on different organizational codes.

The boarding school is supposed to have an idiosyncratic impact on its students in certain areas. In the literature there is marked consensus for example, as to the fact that it carries a unique, long-term influence in terms of students' character formation. Furthermore, it appears to convert the resources they acquire at school into value commitments and to implement them in specific roles. Boarding school graduates are said to transform their resources with great ease into collective-oriented roles based on universal codes, in which public and private interests are differentiated. Additionally, regardless of the origins of the student body, a certain type of elite consciousness emphasizing duties rather than personal privileges, is supposed to be developed in many boarding institutions.

The impact boarding schools have upon their students is usually explained by the institutions' basic characteristics, mentioned in part above: merit-oriented norms, pedagogical consistency, "totality", intensive socialization processes, social isolation, and rigorous student selection. This list of characteristics, however, seems to be insufficient to wholly explain the residential school's potential impact. We suggest that this multilateral impact may be explained in terms of the residential school's basic structure.

Boarding schools can be structurally defined as conflicting frameworks based on inconsistent or even antagonistic codes. By codes, we refer to a body of analytically differentiated principles whose intensity and combination can be indefinitely modified. Four different organizational codes may be distinguished in boarding schools: formal, professional, primary and informal. The first refers to standardized obligatory procedures directed towards a special pattern of division of labor, based on technical competence and arranged in a hierarchical manner. The second, the professional code, implies an objective ethic based on scientific knowledge and supervised and controlled in a functional collegial manner by an autonomous organization of experts. The primary code implies a diffused, direct, interpersonal relationship which operates within group norms. And finally, the informal code of organization implies rules of behavior which are moratoric, symmetric, voluntaristic and expressive.

The overall composition of the boarding-school framework is based on a combination of most or all of these codes. Thus, interactions and relationships in the boarding school are usually combinations of informal, primary, formal and professional ones. Patterns of authority are hierarchical, collegial and symmetrical; the rules of the system can be defined as a combination of standardized procedure, objective scientific rules, group norms and flexible situational maxims; the media of exchange employed include a fusion of value commitments, influence (or pursuasion), power and monetary equivalents; and control mechanisms include laws, sentiments, group pressures and moral obligations utilizing all types of sanctions (prestige, force, wealth, etc.).

Out definition of contradictory codes within the framework of the "ideal type" described above can be applied to actual boarding schools. Therefore, one may distinguish a number of different arrangements in which contradictory components are interconnected.

These different combinations are crystallized in four types of relationships among potentially antagonistic ingredients in boarding schools: the differentiated pattern, the mixed pattern, the uni-dimensional type (formal or informal code) and the hybrid type.

In the differentiated type, each code has its own sphere of dominance so that the possibility of a "clash" between different codes is minimized. The institutions established along these lines are generally well-organized and have a maximal degree of control over their students. In the mixed pattern, there are permanent clashes between various codes and socialization agents and no built-in mechanisms mitigating them; consequently, this framework can easily turn into an anarchistic, anomic one, often encouraging delinquent behavior. The uni-dimensional type of institution "solves" the problem of antagonism by according dominance to one of the four codes and thus no longer approximates the "ideal type" of boarding school, but rather should be considered a consistent, "normal" institution. Finally, the hybrid type of residential school is characterized by an interlinking of antagonistic codes and patterns of behavior.

We are especially interested in this last pattern which, ideally speaking, links professional, primary, formal, and even delinquent codes in four possible ways, using mediatory roles or mechanisms, institutionalized competition, dialectical processes, and role rotation.

The first type of mechanism is the most common to boarding schools. The mediatory role can be found in the form of the "tutor" or the "prefect", while mediatory mechanisms can be exemplified by the existence of certain rituals and the establishment of certain committees and decision-making bodies in which the different codes are enacted.

The second kind of interlinking mechanism - institutionalized competition - is representated by an emphasis on games, sports, and other recreational activities which provide an institutional arena for an egalitarian power struggle, since they are based on symmetric relationships.

The antagonistic codes of the boarding school are also linked by a three-stage dialectical process. This can be exemplified by stages in student socialization. First, freshmen are required to be over-conforming to existing rules and established authority. Next, students are allowed or even encouraged to modify the established rules. Finally, a synthesis is reached by veteran students representing a realistic paradigm of behavior composed of both normative and counter-normative codes. Thus, boarding schools enhance experience in various patterns of behavior before more internalized, obligatory behavior is adopted.

Finally, contradictions are reduced through the rotation of pupils from role to role and from status to status (from "master" to "servant" and vice versa). Therefore, the probability of aggregation of power is diminished and a more symmetrical relationship is established, making the structure of the boarding school a more fluid one.

The existence of the mechanisms outlined above, enable, ideally speaking, boarding schools to operate efficiently. In reality, however, ideal types do not exist in a pure form; rather, mixed patterns of boarding schools are to be found. For instance, boarding schools for gifted children aimed at cognitive achievement will have a strong formal framework in order to enhance this kind of achievement. The kibbutz schools, on the other hand, aimed at socializing towards diffused roles, will tend to be more informal in their codes. As distinct from the former examples, the British public school strongly fuses different codes. Hence, the conceptual framework we have suggested does not describe actual boarding schools, but rather may be useful in distinguising between different "pure" types and, at least partially, to explain their varied impact.

EDUCATIONAL DILEMMAS IN AN ISRAELI YOUTH VILLAGE - THE CASE OF BEN-SHEMEN

A. Simon

During the '30's youth villages in Israel were functional frameworks, a direct answer to the needs of the immediate social reality. Time spent on the school farm was relevant training towards agricultural work in the future, and the special social and cultural patterns established in the youth villages, constituted a preparation for a life of "togetherness" in a collective community. The institutional framework as a whole was characterized by an intensive ideological atmosphere, stressing collective goals such as rebuilding the country and creating a new type of society.

Since independence, a major change has taken place in several aspects of residential education in Israel. First, the composition of the student body has undergone a transformation - youngsters currently attending a school such as Ben-Shemen come from the lower half of the gifted-disadvantaged population. They arrive at Ben-Shemen with a very specific motivation - an ambition to change their social status by way of formal education, epitomized by the matriculation examinations. The pressing demand for academic achievement is usually accompanied, at least at first, by a negative attitude towards manual work in general and agriculture in particular, both of which are conceived of as hindering upward social mobility.

While the above-described transformation in the student population was taking place, the composition of the educational staff had also changed. Today, most Madrichim (counsellors) join the staff of the youth village for personal reasons and not on ideological grounds. During the '30's the staff strongly identified with the goals of the educational institution, but today most members, while still doing an excellent job, mostly work in isolation, each in his or her specific area. In most schools the educating community of the past is nowadays non-existent. The staff is torn between the "clients" demand for success in the matriculation examinations on the one hand, and the larger educational goals on the other, and tries to find the middle path. The youth villages, which in the past represented the predominant social goal of creating the nucleus of a new society, today see their social role as preparing the individual for competing in the existing social order. Thus, emphasis on social change has turned towards a conservative trend.

These major changes necessitated seeking a new definition of both educational goals and pedagogical means, while at the same time preserving the structural framework of the youth village as an educational institution. Most problematic were tow out of the three focuses around which the traditional youth village evolved: work and social life. An intensive struggle has been waged around the alienation between students and adults, a distance stemming from the gap in the expectations of the two groups. Youngsters are after status symbols and current fads, but in the youth village they encounter an emphasis on simplicity in life style. Some students are attempting to escape traditional patriarchal families, expecting permissiveness, but encounter norms of responsibility, mutual consideration and respect. One of the results of these conflicting expectations is a high drop-out rate.

The problem youth villages face today is how to prepare its students for the existing structure of Israeli society, while at the same time not abandoning the traditional educational goals of character building and cultural and social development.

THE SECONDARY RELIGIOUS ACADEMY* AS A UNIQUE EDUCATIONAL ACADEMY

M. Bar-lev

The first Secondary Religious Academies were established in Israel during the decade previous to independence, inspired by parties within the Zionist Religious Movement. These institutions were immediately integrated into the Hamizrahi educational system, and in 1954, when the National Religious educational system came into being, they became an integral part of it.

During the late '50's, a unique educational entity emerged within these Academies, the final crystallization of which marked the end of a long period of hesitation and intensive argument as to the place and scope of secular studies in the new educational settings and these studies became part and parcel of the Academies' curricula.

The Secondary Religious Academies are characterized by a unique combination of four components -

1) The ideological component

The forefathers of "Hamizrahi Education" slowly and carefully formed the first religious secondary schools in Israel, molding them according to the values and contents of the West-European

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* In Hebrew - Yeshiva Tichonit (High School).

Gymnasium on the one hand and Realy High School in Germany, on the other. The forefathers of the first Secondary Religious Academies adopted the classical educational pattern of East-European Jewry, referring to the Lithuanian Yeshiva as their main "reference group", combined with some degree of readiness to incorporate (on pragmatic, non-ideological grounds) certain parts of the regular Israeli high school curricula. This prgamatic combination lacked any a-priori legitimation. Even the very people who created the new Academies still saw as their main source of legitimation the extent to which their institutions succeeded in chanelling their graduates into the "sphere of the Torah" - i.e. - a period of intensive study in the Graduate Religious Academies.*

While the secular component was incorporated into the curriculum on pragmatic grounds, (it ensured a better chance of recruiting promising students and mobilizing public and financial support) it gained in importance from the scholastic-instrumental point of view. In fact, the Academies adopted many modern educational subjects common and fashionable in the Israeli educational system in general.

The ongoing dual commitment to both traditional values (the sphere of the Yeshiva and the values of East-European Jewry), and modern values (the sphere of secular studies and the values of Western civilization), without developing an autonomous and integrative unifying theme, is still a pronounced characteristic of the Academies.

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* In Hebrew - Yeshiva Gevoha.

2) The Structural Component

The Secondary Religious Academies are being run as private institutions under the supervision of several public bodies. Each Academy is also under the supervision of the Department of Religious Education in the Ministry of Education and Culture, but this supervision is usually quite elastic and encompasses only partial aspects of the educational program.

The Academy revolves around three central components - the Yeshiva (religious studies) the Secondary school (secular studies) and the residential section (the social component) - of which the Yeshiva aspect is the dominant one, secular studies next, and the boarding aspect - last.

This relationship between the different sections is clearly manifested in the division of roles between members of the staff. Most Academies are headed by the Head of the Yeshiva who is, both in theory and in practice, the final authority in every area. Other central staff members such as the secondary school administrator, the boarding school principal, etc., are unable to persue an independent policy in their specific areas of responsibility. By the same token, the Talmud teacher* has become a central educational figure in the Academy. The definition of the Talmud teacher's role became the focal point in a long struggle between the heads of the Academies and the Ministry of Education, the former demanding acknowledgement of this role as a special case, and insisting on traditional Yeshiva studies as a training prerequisite.

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* In Hebrew - "Ram".

Special emphasis on religious studies is also evident in matters such as allocation of time and space. These studies are given "prime-time" and space, and constitute the core of the home-room class. Still, most Academies excel at secular studies and the large elite institutions offer their students an impressive variety of subjects and courses. Most Academies are formally acknowledged by the Ministry of Education and prepare their students for the matriculation examinations. Even Talmud studies have become an integral part of these examinations.

To sum up - the structural innovation of the Academies is the pragmatic combination of the three components described above, together with the clear dominant status of religious studies.

3) The Social Climate Component

The special relationship between the students in the Academies and the social sphere of the pioneering religious youth movements (first and foremost "Bnei Akiva") fostered in most Academies a unique social climate. This climate was manifested by several original practices:

(1) Hebrew as the language of both speech and study, as against the use of Jewish, which is the common practice in most of the other Yeshivas in Israel.

(2) Simple, modern dress-style, as against different traditional styles frequently encountered in other Yeshivas.

(3) A variety of extra-curricular activities - field trips, parties, sports, etc.

(4) New collective identity symbols - such as the crocheted yarmulka, unique songs and dances, etc.

(5) Fostering an "elite consciousness" and a spirit of self-respect in being religious among Academy students, while creating a general social climate in which attending an academy is almost a "must" for every religious boy. The residential side of the Academy encourages these social traits. The fact that most Academies are located in religious settlements, or at least outside the major cities, help minimize possible negative social influences of the secular culture.

Besides the social and emotional effect of boarding on the social climate of the Academy, the other two components (Yeshiva and school) also exert a major influence in this respect.

Of special importance is the subject "Jewish Philosophy" (introduced in the '40's by one of the first Academics as a compulsory subject for the matriculation examination) which prepares the students for potential confrontation with secular culture. Another important source of influence is the informal interaction with both teachers and peers which contribute towards deepening the students' commitment to the institution, and the values it represents.

(6) The educational output component

The educational output of the secondary Religious Academies is represented by thousands of graduates from the various institutions. The unique character of the graduates is expressed in the constant mental balance they maintain between their commitment to the traditional sphere of religious norms and values, and their active involvement in the central institutions of modern Israeli society. While maintaining this delicate balance, the graduates usually succeed in adhering to the religious tradition, both in belief and action, while doing exceedingly well in the army, in higher education and in a growing variety of occupations.

On the individual level - this is a new type of religious individual - well versed in both secular and religious subjects, nationally oriented, and possessing a high degree of self-respect.

On the collective level - this is a new social group - known as the "Religious Intelligentia" or "The Generation of Crochet Yarmulkes" - which slowly but surely, is becoming a dominant factor in the elite of the national-religious society in Israel.

Thus, Secondary Religious Academies are unique, not only in their ideological, structural and social climate aspects, but also in the unique educational output they produce.

During a period of about forty years, this type of education greatly expanded, and today there are, spread all over the country, 25 such Academies. The major quantitative development occurred between 1953-1967, and it may be partially explained by the growing number of youngsters - both in the cities and in new immigrant settlements - who were interested in attending this type of institution. The few Academies existing at that point were unable to respond to the growing demand, and had difficulty in absorbing students from immigrant families. These difficulties stemmed not only from materials reasons, such as lack of proper facilities, but rather from subjective ones - fear of losing prestige, or harming an elite image, and objective ones - such as a real gap between the educational achievements of youngsters graduating from certain elementary schools (located in development towns, poor urban neighborhoods, etc.), and the educational requirements existing in the Academies. The religious sector had to produce immediate solutions to these problems, and meet national needs by planning ahead in this area. In fact, most of the new institutions were established without prior planning. Bnei Akiva saw the establishment of new Academies as a most important religious-national mission, at the same time reducing the pressures exerted by non-elite groups to enroll their offsprings in the long-established elite institutions. As a result, on the whole, it has turned out that no state-wide system of national planning and priorities was created and so a tremendous amount of human, financial and physical resources is being wasted.

Despite these and other problems, the unique experiment of Secondary Religious Academies was institutionalized in Israel as a major innovative system, encompassing about 4,500 students in 25 institutions and can boast of more than 15,000 graduates.

DIFFERENTIAL PERCEPTION OF INSTITUTIONAL CONSTRAINTS IN BOARDING SCHOOLS

F. Bernstein

This article focuses attention on the general question of how characteristics of institutions devoted to socialization, influence the adjustment of the socialized.

The social institutions established by society in order to provide primary and corrective socialization were defined by Goffman as total institutions.

In these institutions, large numbers of people are isolated for different periods of time from the outside world. They are subjected to a comprehensive daily schedule and controlled by a staff with full authority over the inmates.

Goffman has identified the process of mortification, identity stripping and reconstructing as the critical mechanism through which total institutions influence their members (inmates).

Many researchers do not agree with Goffman's assertion. They claim that the concept, "Total Institution" can be viewed as a polar type and that dimensions of totalism (totality) can be identified. They point out that mortification is not a necessary characteristic of all total institutions. Mortification characterizes only those institutions in which compulsion forms the basis of recruitment and in which such institutionalization creates a "stigma" for the inhabitants.

The assumption of the present study is that the total institution influences the individual not only through objective characteristics but mainly through the way these characteristics are perceived by the individual. This approach is in keeping with Berger and Luckman's theory of the social construction of reality, the symbolic interaction of Blumer and others.

The study is proposing to see perception as the mechanism that mediates the influence of the structural characteristics of total institution on idividual behavior. Perception as a mechanism is more general (than mortification) and can explain the influence of both moderate and extreme degrees of totalism.

This constitutes a break with past sociological analyses which were concerned with structural characteristics of total institutions, ignoring possible individual differences in the experiences of these characteristics.

The aim of this study was to investigate the differential perception of the unique normative system which is limiting and restricting the student's behavior in a residential school. We refer to these norms as total constraints or restrictions. A discrimination between two types of constraint was made. We distinguished between positional constraints and personal ones.

The positional restrictions refer to formally expressed constraints which apply to inmates by virtue of their position in the institutional structure (e.g., their complete subjection to the authority of instructors, teachers and staff in general). The personal restrictions refer to informal constraints that have an impact on the personal life of the inmate, that are by-products rather than formal components of the institutional system (e.g., the lack of free time or privacy).

Focusing on perceptions requires us to apply existing perception theories (mainly object perception and person perception) to the perception of a complex social reality such as the "total" reality with its special norms. We assumed that the basic processes of perception are similar regardless of the perceived objects. Accordingly, we distinguished between the cognitive component (whether or not the restriction exists), the affective emotional component (whether or not the restriction disturbs the individual) and the effective-evaluative component (whether or not it is felt to be legitimate for the institution to impose this restriction).

The empirical research was carried out in two boarding high schools in Israel, both of which show a moderate degree of total characteristics but which differ considerably in their structures. We have chosen to investigate two residential schools (a) in order to avoid systematic biases that might appear out of idiosyncratic characteristics of one institution and (b) to be able to replicate the results. This is a considerable advance beyond the typical individual level of methodology in studies of single institutions.

Our first hypothesis was that there are individual differences in the way in which the constraints of the institution are perceived by its members.

As expected, there were substantial individual differences in the restriction perceived by different students. Interestingly, many students perceived the positional restrictions while few took note of the personal restrictions. More importantly, although positional restrictions were more commonly perceived, they were less likely to be viewed as illegitimate and disturbing. Personal restrictions were perceived as considerably more disturbing by those who noted them.

Our second hypothesis was that the differences in perception of institutional constraints are a product of the different cognitive structures that individuals have acquired during their previous socialization. We did not investigate directly the socio-cultural settings the students come from. We inferred this indirectly, using existing data.

We made three main distinctions: We distinguish between:

1) Hierarchical social structures as against egalitarian ones.
2) Structures where the identity of the individual is positional, the individual being defined first of all as a member of a group as against structures where the identity of the individual is personal, where the individual reaches the stage of "individuation", a term of Fromm on expressing the release of the individual from group dependence.

3) We also distinguished between settings which emphasize the duties of its members as against settings which emphasize their rights.

There is evidence in sociological literature that traditional and lower economic families are more hierarchical, the identity of their members is positional, their status ascribed and their duties more emphasized than their rights. Modern families and families of higher economic level are more egalitarian, the identity of the individual is expressed in more individual terms, the status achieved and rights are more emphasized than duties.

The socialization of the child in these settings is accordingly different. The one is "adult centered" and the other "child centered" and as a result different cognitive structures are formed in them to face reality. Following this reasoning, students from different social backgrounds were expected to perceive differently the constraints of the school.

As predicted, the social background of the students had an impact on the perception of institutional restrictions. Students from more traditional and lower economic backgrounds tended to perceive more positional restrictions but found them legitimate and not disturbing, as compared with students from less traditional and higher socio-economic status backgrounds. The latter were particularly likely to perceive the institution as imposing personal restrictions and to view these restrictions as unjust and disturbing.

The study shows that there is no uniform "objective" normative system, but a multiplicity of subjective definitions of the institution's reality. These subjective definitions may have an impact on modes of adjustment and functioning in these institutions.

COMPENSATORY RESIDENTIAL SECONDARY SCHOOLS FOR THE GIFTED DISADVANTAGED

D. Nevo

I. An Outline of the Program

Initially, establishing special boarding schools for the gifted disadvantaged originated with Professor M. Smilansky who methodically followed up its implementation. During the first year of the program, 78 youngsters were lodged in a boarding school in Beit Vagan, Jerusalem. Since then the program has greatly expanded, and at present about 300 students are enrolled in several educational institutions throughout the country. Students are referred to the program through their elementary schools and selected on the basis of three criteria - educational, ethnic, and socio-economic.

The program is based on five assumptions:

1) that disadvantaged children's failure to achieve in school is reversible;
2) that by adolescence it is still not too late to set this corrective process of resocialization in motion;
3) that adolescence is a particularly suitable time for educational intervention because it is a period of search for self identity;
4) that at adolescence youngsters undergo an emotional crisis, which may be a positive factor in the resocialization process, and under certain conditions may offer a prospect of meaningful change; and

5) that preference should be given to the more able of the culturally disadvantaged. The label "gifted" should become a positive motivational factor instead of the stigmatizing label "disadvantaged".

The two major characteristics of the program are:

1) that students are placed in regular, heterogeneous schools;
2) that students live in special boarding facilities, which ensure personal tutoring and counselling, the availability of library facilities, enrichment programs, etc.

II. The Design of the Evaluation Study

Since its first day, the program was accompanied by an evaluation study. In fact, it is a program which was initiated as an experimental research project and evolved into a major institutionalized program sponsored by the Ministry of Education and Culture.

The evaluation study included three distinct stages:

1) Evaluation of the 1961 class, i.e., the first group of students admitted to the program. Two comparison groups were included in the study - a group of elementary school classmates and a group of candidates rejected by the program;

2) Evaluation of the 1966 class, i.e., 224 students in five boarding schools, and 1,894 students in several different comparison groups; and

3) Follow-up on graduates, i.e., a study of the first graduating class, following them, up to 1977 (i.e., ten years from the time they were admitted to the program).

In the present paper we will not report in detail the research findings, suffice it to say that four types of data were collected and analyzed -

1) Background data concerning students' educational and socio-economic background;

2) Data concerning students' success in secondary education. The evaluation focuses on two main variables: dropout rate and success in the matriculation examinations;

3) Data concerning the social acceptance of the program's students in their classes, and in their residential setting; and

4) Data concerning the program's graduates.

III. Conclusions for Future Reference

A. From past experience we may conclude that some factors in the research design and the nature of the relationship between project and research had positive ramifications and should be retained in the future -

1) The close follow-up evaluation, tightly linked to the program from the initial stages on;
2) The intensive communication and mutual ongoing exchange between the Ministry of Education and research staff;
3) The involvement of research staff in the institutionalization of the project; and
4) The choice of a longitudinal research design, instead of an experimental one.

B. Several factors had somewhat negative ramifications, and should be omitted in the future -

1) Implementation of the project should be separated from evaluation. Evaluation should not be done by the project's initiators;
2) The range of research - variables should be expanded so as to include variables such as structural elements, educational processes, curriculum, etc.
3) Output variables should be chosen which go beyond the foreseen effects of the project; and
4) A division of labor should be introduced between the research as such and evaluation as a basis for decision-making.

THE "INTERNAT"

The Residential Setting for Treatment of Specialized Populations

Y. Wozner

By "specializing population" one means: Children or adults who, because of various different disturbances, (physical, psychological or educational) are not in the mainstream, or dropped out of the mainstream of the educational establishment. It is interesting to note that the normative establishment in Israel (The Ministry of Education and Culture) has very little to do with the residential care or residential treatment of the "special populations". These are usually under the auspices of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, the Ministry of Health, and to a lesser extent of Youth Aliyah (the youth immigration organization), and private voluntary organizations. (This, of course, does not include the upper stratum of "specialized populations", i.e., the gifted.) This is an interesting and strange phenomena: It seems as if populations who are in special need have been, in a way, disowned by the Educational establishment in Israel.

The question is, if there is an establishment whose societal role is education, why are retarded children not educated in a residential setting by the same establishment? Why shouldn't a juvenile delinquent (who behaviorly has come into conflict with the legal establishment), be under this establishment's auspices? Out of approximately 12,000 school children who are placed by the Ministry of Welfare in various Internats (catering to neglected or deprived children) another 1,200 are described as "extra special" - not retarded - but with emotional and behavioral problems. These 1,200 children who include juvenile delinquents, are placed in some 17 to 18 Internats - an indicative number in itself. There is a praiseworthy tendency, therefore, to run quite small Internats for this kind of population.

What turns an Internat for the specialized population into a so-called "Treatment Internat"?

The Ministry of Labor and Welfare defines a residential setting as a "Treatment Internat" if it has its own social worker or a number of social workers; medical and/or psychological services rendered to the inmates - and that is all. Nowhere is it stated that a special program should be formed and followed.

A logistic consideration taken into account is that Internats should have relatively small classes - which has, of course, a financial implication. A regular Internat would have up to 40 or 50 children in a group. In a "Treatment Internat", a residential group is composed of 12-14 children. This, in fact, is the only structural or organizational distinction of such Internats.

The Internat as a powerful, cultural environment, has an important educational value. As such it has a special effect on its inmates. One would expect that the special Internat would enhance the educational aims of the inmates. In actual fact, today there is very little done in this respect. What does exist, of course, are the different theoretical orientations (i.e. psycho-analytical and behavioral orientations). In some Internats, the relationship and interaction between the staff and inmates is based on some mixture of psycho-therapeutic orientations. In other Internats the basic orientation is behavioral, using techniques such as token economics and various other reinforcement methods. What is most striking is that the unique societal structure of the Internat is very seldom used, except for segregating people. The result is that people who disturb us - the society - are isolated, secluded and sent away, and thus, presumably, the Internat serves this purpose. The productive and positive aspects of the Internat (i.e. "the unifying theme", the positive ideological atmosphere, the uniqueness of the Internat) are neglected.

One would expect that the cultural environment be enhanced and emphasized - the only valid reason for suggesting the Internat environment for resocializing the "specialized population". This phenomena suggests a kind of dichotomy or dual definition, i.e. the Internat as an "Instrument", versus the Internat as a "Vessel".

The "Instrument" attempts to harness all the possible effects of the Internats' powerful environment. It is an instrument of change or modification aimed at its inmates. It works with the inmates, not on them. An Internat defined or categorized as an instrument is one that is geared towards the individual needs of its inmates, but it can also be geared to the collective needs. In an "Instrument Internat" the whole schedule is organized according to the perceived needs of the opulation within it.

The "Vessel" is a bureaucratic structure - hotel-like - a place to sleep and eat. The ideal vessel incorporates little interaction between the staff and the inmates. Most of the interaction takes place within the school. The educational emphasis is on the school, not the Internat. Speaking of "Treatment Internats" the "Vessel Internat" means a pleasant place where people live in small groups, and where the modifying effect is expected to be accomplished by one hour of psychological treatment, or two hours special gymnastics, or any other technical intervention. The very essence of the Internat as a powerful environment is not taken into account.

If our goal is to effect not just one specific function or aspect of the personality, but to create a more diffused influence, the "vessel" type is inadequate, and the "instrument" type should be incorporated more often.

If the above two concepts ("instrument" or "vessel") constitute one dimension or axis for classification purposes, we could try to superimpose them on two other important concepts, i.e., pluralistic or dispensed decision-making versus centralized decision-making. Thus, we may be able to create a two by two matrix in which various Internats could be located in a dynamically-structurally meaningful typology. According to this typology, a "Total Internat" would centralize decision-making, while a "Pluralistic Internat" would dispense decision-making among more members of the organization; i.e., both inmates and staff.

The above four variants - "Instrument", "Vessel", "Total" and "pluralistic", enable us to construct a comprehensive and useful typology of Internats in general, and of treatment Internats in particular.

MANOF AND KEDMA

Intensive Educational Experiences for Marginal Youth

C. Adler
Y. Ohayon
D. Freund

In the poorer sections of the major cities and in the outlying development towns in Israel, the casual observer can often see youngsters idling about who seemingly have nothing better to do. Many of them appear "tough", with tight jeans and haircuts ranging from Afros to long "hippy" styles. Some of them are members of street gangs and some of them have no particular affiliation; what characterizes them all is that they are not part of any of the usually accepted societal frameworks. Most of them have dropped out of school because they did not succeed and were not motivated to or could not change their situation there. The experience of the kind of failure that brought them to their present situation and the feelings accompanying it, make the problem of marginal youth a very serious and complex one, affecting about 10% of the total age cohort from fourteen to seventeen in Israel, or some twenty-thousand youngsters.*

In Israel the situation of these teenagers becomes even more difficult at the age of eighteen when the time comes for recruitment into the army, and many of them are not accepted because of police records or general instability. Any young man who has not served in the army, unless for reasons of health, has a stain on his record which may well become a serious handicap, making entrance into the adult world even more problematic.

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* Assuming that fifty percent of this number are girls, it must be noted that approximately half of them come from traditional settings where, at this age, they are already expected to fulfill a role at home. Thus, even though the girls fit into the definition of "youth who are neither studying or working", their situation is different.

Because of the serious situation of such disadvantaged youth in the country and the lack of viable solutions, a special residential project for 15-17 year-old boys which was to deal specifically with the group of marginal youth mentioned above and which would be a kind of "recovery" institution, was founded. The program now known as MANOF (meaning a crane in English and an acronym for residential youth center in Hebrew), opened in the fall of 1975. The site for MANOF is Nahariya, a small resort town north of Haifa. In the early years one of the summer hotels was rented and used as a campus. Since 1977 two such hotels in Nahariya are being used as the main campus (classes and vocational training are held elsewhere in the town). Presently MANOF holds about 60 boys annually.

The problem faced by the founders of MANOF was how to go about creating a meaningful institution to which problematic youth would want to come of their own accord. Given that most, if not all, these youth had had many negative formal school experiences, a more informal approach would have to be used. The project would have to provide a diversified curriculum, directed both towards instrumental goals (i.e. the acquisition of a trade and intellectual skills) and towards rehabilitative ones, such as norms of group behavior, capacity for autonomy and self-expression, ability to persist at a task, to mention a few. Included in such a conception was the idea that there should be a wide variety of activities, some highly challenging and some almost entirely pleasurable, and that participation would be absolutely voluntary. At the same time, it was clear that the adult figures could not play the role of ordinary teachers, but that dedicated staff would have to be developed with whom the youth could make close, trusting relationships and who could act as models and supports for them as they were experimenting with a new life style and with the acquisition of a variety of social, intellectual, and vocational skills.

A creative social environment was consequently designed in which several educational activities and programs could simultaneously be pursued both formally and informally. The vocational courses offered by MANOF were to be directed towards occupations with a higher social status, such as photography and electronics, than the traditional low-status ones, such as carpentry or shoe-making, which most programs offer.

One of MANOF's essential characteristics was to be that it would create a "total environment"; for twenty-four hours a day the participants would be involved in the different aspects of the project. The youth, having been taken out of their former surroundings, would essentially be provided with a new home. It was assumed that intense dormitory living would facilitate close group relationships and the necessity to deal in one way or another with any conflicts that arose. It was further assumed that the peer group would lend initial support and encourage the more marginal youth to change their negative behavioral patterns. The staff, within this setting, would be available continually to provide individual attention, support and personal guidance.

Within the total environment, the participants would be given the chance to experiment with fulfilling various adult roles. Up until this time, many of them had never had much success at any role, and this aspect of the program would be very valuable in preparing them for the future. MANOF would give them the opportunity to plan their own day-to-day programs, for example, and to participate on committees which would essentially govern most aspects of life at MANOF. Through these committees, the youth would learn to accept responsibility and to perform social roles effectively which are essential for active membership in society.

The different elements of the program converge in an attempt to teach each individual various skills and to give him an opportunity to try out different kinds of behavior. There are essentially three different stages to the program. The first stage covers a period of six to seven months in the residential setting beginning in October. It has a long and demanding schedule. The day begins at 6:30, with breakfast at 7:00. Study begins at 7:45 and continues until 1:00, with only a half-hour break at 10:30. Afternoon vocational classes commence at 2:30 and continue until 5:30. The evening is either free or used for various informal activities. The youth themselves are responsible for day-to-day cleanliness and for some routine jobs in the dining room.

There are two different aspects to the program in the first stage. The first, the more formal, includes vocational and academic studies as well as creative workshops and special interest groups, all tailored to individual needs and desires. The academic subjects include Hebrew, mathematics, English and history, and the vocational ones, which are elective, photography, car electronics, car electricity and metal work. Attendance at all classes is voluntary, and there are no exams or grades.

The second aspect of the program is the more informal one and complements the actual course work (which itself contains many informal elements). It includes among other things, the evening programs. Some of these are discussions which center around pertinent issues, such as the group's functioning, politics, or some specific occurrence. Others consist of meetings of the various elected committees coordinated by a central committee, which have responsibility for different aspects of the program such as food, cultural activities, sports and discipline.

Included in the informal aspect of the program are the many conversations between the youth worker and the youth, on both an individual and group basis, which take place as the program progresses. These help the youth to integrate his various experiences, understand his relationship to the adults working with him, to himself and to his peer group, and give him guidance where necessary. Many spontaneous activities often also occur during the day - an outing to town, a soccer game, or a meeting to plan the weekend's trip to Sinai. Hikes and overnight trips to various places provide, besides much pleasure, the opportunity for many different educational experiences, including learning about the country and its history. In general, they increase the group's solidarity as well.

The next stage, the second, is one of transition, but has much importance in itself. The group moves to a kibbutz for three months, along with the youth workers, and is expected to integrate into the different aspects of life there. In many ways, the kibbutz is similar to the residential setting. It is a closed society where the individual has to find a place and sometimes sacrifice his own needs to the needs of the group. The teenagers from MANOF continue to have the personal attention of the youth workers, and they attend classes in some of the subjects that were taught in the residential setting. They are, however, expected to integrate into the kibbutz society in the sense that they are assigned to jobs by the kibbutz and expected to fulfill them well; they eat with the kibbutz in the public dining room and are included in social activities. In contrast to the residential setting in Nahariya, the kibbutz is a natural social setting, and as such, promotes the youth's preparation for adult life and the outside world.

In the kibbutz, the youth are able to maintain the demanding schedule, as they had been in the residential setting. They also adjust quickly and, on the whole, successfully to life there. It seems that the norms which had been developed during the first stage help them to understand what kind of behavior and attitudes are acceptable in the new context, and the group helps them to live according to them. When in previous years the question arose as to whether individuals who wanted to could remain on the kibbutz after they completed the MANOF program, the answer was most in the affirmative from the kibbutzim. Thus, from all points of view, the experience seems to be a positive one and to fulfill its educational purpose.

The third stage of MANOF, which begins nine months after the youth initially enter the program, is a complex and very important one. It is essentially open-ended, because it deals with each individual and his plans for the future. Each case is considered very carefully, and decisions are arrived at after different factors have been weighed: the youth's preferences and abilities, the staff's recommendations, and the availability of different alternatives. Because the actual program of MANOF itself is so short, which is one of its unique features, a system of counselling has also been provided which continues after the program has officially ended. This is a very important and integral part of MANOF and makes it different from most other such programs. A special member of staff has been given the responsibility of finding the most suitable place for each youngster and of keeping in contact with him as he goes into the outside world. This is done with much care and in complete cooperation with the youngster and those who have worked with him during his stay at MANOF. The youth are encouraged to return to MANOF as visitors at any time and call on staff members whenever necessary. In this way graduates are continually supported and encouraged as they attempt to establish themselves.

It is interesting to note that essentially all MANOF graduates have so far been recruited by the Israel Defense Forces and have been assigned to regular combat units such as the tank corps, the navy, and the parachutists. Similar adolescents, if successfully drafted into the army at all, are generally assigned to positions with little responsibility and low social status, such as kitchen detail or driving. This is an encouraging development and can be taken as evidence that MANOF is fulfilling at least part of its stated goals.

In the year 1980, a similar program, aimed at the same type of marginal, wayward and delinquent youth came into being. It seems correct to state that its philosophy and basic approach were inspired by the by-then acknowledged success of MANOF. It is the youth village of KEDMA.

KEDMA is an agricultural village south of Tel Aviv. Unlike MANOF, it is a co-educational experience, essentially aimed at the same target population, even if somewhat younger (14-15 year-olds).

The most important difference between KEDMA and MANOF is that the youngsters are expected to live, work and study at KEDMA until they are of age for military service (i.e. for 3-7 years). Thus, while MANOF is short in duration, KEDMA is planned as a much more extended experience. (It is too early to assess whether most of the youngsters in KEDMA will adapt to such a prolonged experience). Being a village, there is less emphasis on vocational training in KEDMA than there is in MANOF, and relatively more on agricultural work.

Similarly to MANOF, KEDMA is searching for meaningful and effective ways of teaching academic subject matter. Both teach the basics, in an open and unauthroitative way, applying no sanctions or selection. Whilst MANOF employs special personnel as teachers, KEDMA, tried to merge the roles of counsellors and teachers. Whilst the latter is evidently a preferable appraoch, it imposes a more heavy strain on staff which only very few and select individuals are able to sustain.

KEDMA enjoys the advantage, not only of being a village, but of being entirely separated and independent. This allows for the development of a rehabilitative atmosphere. Yet, it differs from MANOF in that the participating youth of MANOF, even though entirely removed from their original background and environment, live in a city. MANOF is, thus, a less artificial set up and an environment more closely resembling that in which most of the youth are likely to live as graduates. Whether total physical removal is called for so as to constitute a rehabilitative "last chance" or whether social-cultural discontinuity with the home environment suffices, will be seen in due course.

The uniqueness of both KEDMA and MANOF in rehabilitating wayward-delinquent youth is that they seem to make the utmost use of the residential environment. Rather than being a school on the campus on which there are boarding arrangements, these institutions fuse peer group manipulation, intensive and intimate relationships with adults who are accepting of participatory experiences and opportunities to fulfill meaningful roles, with a deep sense of responsibility for the graduates' course of life.

RESIDENTIAL SETTINGS AS ADMINISTERED COMMUNITIES - SOME OBSERVATIONS ON ANALYTICAL DIMENSIONS AND PRECIPITATING CONDITIONS

A CONCLUDING STATEMENT

C.E. Bidwell

The starting point for the present discussion is the notion of "administered" community. This was a central concept in C. Bidwell & R.S. Vreeland's paper "The Residential College as an Administered Community" read before the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association in 1962, which dealt with the impact of colleges on moral orientations of college students in the U S. The term "administered community" means, first and foremost, an organization administratively characterized by the absence of primordial ties (ties of kinship, locality etc.), but is rather more contractual and associational in its basic form. An administered community can be either a people processing organization, or serving clients through the means of communal forms, enacted rather than evolving, in order to bring about some sort of change in the client-members, or in order to facilitate the maintenance of some sort of commitment, or a combination of the two. Communal ties or networks are specifically used as an instrument to counteract the associational property which underlies the notion of formal organizations.

Administered communities, as a result of their structural definition, may face certain dilemmas, certain inbuilt problems and inherent strains. The first central dilemma stems directly from the emphasis on the absence of primordial ties, and may be described as the problem of potential strain between communality and intentionality. The issue here is whether an administered community - residential school, a youth village etc. - brings within its boundaries primordially grounded groups that can form sources of an oppostional subculture inside the organization. To the extent that this occurs, one can expect to witness the emergence of certain elements of strain in the administered community. This potential strain may become either more oppositional or more supportive depending on the way the members of the organization are recruited; are they recruited from within a subculture that is itself supportive of the administered community - as is the case when the organization was primarily established for sectarian purposes. The reverse will probably hold if the subculture recruited from is a deviant one. This is the case in certain prisons and penitentiaries which happen to recruit groups of client-members from the same neighborhood or street gang. In such cases the strain between primordial and organizational elements may become destructive to the administered community. Hence, the organization has no way but to replace external primordial ties and build a new set of organizationally focussed specific and communal ties in their place. When there are ties to be broken, identities to be reshaped and new ones to be formed, then an administered community may come to more closely resemble Goffman's description of "total institution".

The second dillemma an administered community might face is in the realm of goals and purposes, and is the question of ideology versus utility. One way of defining an organization is by answering the question of its goals.

The central distinction in this context is between organizations which are generated or enacted by an ideology or a mission and the contract based, professionally specific organization

In the first case the organization is the extension or tool of a social movement, a political party, an elite engaged in nation-building or a sect attempting to attract converts and tomaintain the doctrinal purity and commitment of those already inside the fold. When an organization has an ideologically specific mission, there should be no difficulty in pinpointing its purposes. First, members will tend to declare the organizational goal. Second, the purpose will be embodied in the organizational round of life. Because of the centrality of the mission, the social life of the members will mirror the central goal. Moreover, the round of life becomes symbolically important. One can observe this phenomenon in religious schools and even more so in monasteries, where the daily routine of prayers and devotion becomes a symbolic manifestation of a religious mission. At the same time this daily routine and strict schedule serves as a way of indoctrination.

The alternative form is the rationally planned, specific professional organization: the ordinary day school, the vocational high school, etc. The organization becomes a set of means to a functionally specific end: to learn to read, to acquire a vocation. Here, the issue is not one of commitment but rather the more specific problem of how to teach a certain subject or skill.

Subordinate to the question of goals is the third question - that of generalized versus specialized staff recruitment. When the purpose of the organization is mission,staffing will center heavily on commitment; less on professionalism or technical competence than on normative competence. Members of the sect, the movement, the party will be the favored candidates. Furthermore, one is likely to find a very diffused division of labor. It is hard to find identifiable, separable roles - they are all overlapping. For the same reason - the recruitment basis of the staff - one is likely to find a very undeveloped hierarchy of control; instead - the charismatic founding leader who runs the whole community is characteristic. This presents the problem of routinization of charisma and the question of succession - how to preserve the organization when the leader is gone, how to handle change. Another problem is that of support from without the administered community. The maintenance of the notion of mission depends on the persistence of sectarian or localistic social structures and subcultures to sustain it. Similar problems exist with regards to population recruitment. What are the kinds of incentives to which the new members will respond? Here A. Etzioni's classification of incentives - coercive, nomative and utalitarian-is deemed useful. When you have a population of members which already identifies itself with the organization's goals, the incentives are symbolic, normative. The community's way of life becomes both a central ritual and a way of indoctrination. This emphasis on"the conduct of a way of life" (Weber) is common not only to sects and religious schools, but may be found in some elite professional schools - law and medical schools, etc.

The second part of this paper will deal with the issue of social conditions precipitating the formation of different types of residential education.

One can identify 6 major conditions that will foster some variety of residential education. They all center on the Parsonian theme of social differentiation as a principal dimension of social change. These six conditions are:

1) The generalized weakening of primordial ties in the society. The weakening of kinship, of the family, the differentiation of family and economy are interconnected with the emergence of certain types of residential schools. The type case in this context is the emergence of the English Public

Schools, which flowered as the aristocratic families of England began to confront a modernizing economy and lost some of their functions and strength.

2) The elaboration of group subcultures, of doctrines and beliefs. The best example here is that of courtly education in Pre-Tokugawa Japan (see Dore) and the formation of residential schools associated with the feudal courts and centered largely on the development of Confucian Doctrine, as both the symbolization in the moral sense and as a set of techniques qualifying one for membership in the ruling classes in Japan. This development is closely linked to the weakening of primordial ties. Qualification for elite positions in Japan by this time had come to be based not only on inheritance, but also on technical qualifications and examinations interconnected with the development of the court schools. One of the outcomes of this process is the formation of an integrated national elite with a common educational base and a common national identity.

3) Nation building - the attempt to form elites. Elite formation in the less developed countries, which might be seen, in part, as an effort to overcome primordial ties and replace them by ties to the nation-state.

Each of the aforementioned conditions involves either the pre-existence or the attempt to construct a system of stratification that centers on status groups. A status group is a self-conscious, self-identified solitary stratum, which is centered on a distinctive way of life, which itself is normatively integrated around the symbolization of a distinctive honorific position. The political elite of a new nation can be as much a status group as the Mandarines in China and the Samurai in Japan. Under these circumstances in particular, one would expect the emergence of residential education.

4) Sectarianism - the formation of residential educational settings as a way of spreading and maintaining a system of beliefs, an ideology, a mission (see page 155 above for detailed discussion).

5) Developing economy and the upward extension of mass education - the best example here is the American State University. The upward extension of education involved not normative goals but focused on technical training - the preparation of engineers, agronomists, lawyers, doctors, etc. It is indeed a second step in nation-building - no longer emphasizing the development of a nationally committed elite, but that of a technical cadre - professionals and quasi-professionals. At a certain point the demand for such training outran the means, and because of the high cost of decentralized higher education the State

universities were established. These had to be residential because they recruited their students from all over the state. The residential part in this case came along as a side-effect when it could not be avoided.

6) Deviance. So far, we discussed the formation or enhancement of commitment or skill. Another problem is that of handling deviance. As social differentiation proceeds and deviance becomes defined in ways which outrun the resources of families and communities, handling deviance in one of two senses - either in the sense of isolation or recovery in the individual case, or re-integration on the social level - become problems of organizational means. The isolation of the deviant, the criminal, the mentally ill, or their reintegration as full members of society, call for some kind of distinctive communal environment, and therefore for some form of residential re-education and resocialization.

This kind of reformatory - the therapeutic community on the one hand, the prison on the other- seem to fall into some uneasy middle ground between the mission-oriented administered communities and the technical, contract-centered ones.

Administrative communities evolving under one of the first four social conditions will tend to be ideologically grounded, normatively based, dense communities, with strong boundary maintenance, high visibility of members and staff and symbolization of the daily round of life. They are potent forms of administered communities, but tend to be relatively unstable because they face the double problem of routinization of charisma on the inside and dwindling of outside sources of commitment and support, Their major collective outcome is preparing successive cohorts for the elite or the sect. Administered communities evolving under conditions of mass education take on all the opposite parameters of the above variables, and their major collective outcome is the training of professional-technical cadres for the expanding economy. Administered communities established to handle deviance through isolation are mostly just "vessels" - warehouses for the criminals, the mentally ill, etc. Therapeutic communities, which stress re-integration into society, face some of the problems typical to mission grounded organizations, first and foremost the problem of routinization of charisma and thus tend to be unstable and relatively short life spans.

In our concluding remarks we will try to suggest a list of three components which, to our mind, any major research agenda of residential education should include:

a) A general analytical scheme, a set of constructs for comparison between a variety of administered communities. This conceptual space should encompass a wide range of variation, so as to include both residential and non-residential settings.

Some tentative steps in this direction were taken in the present discussion.

b) An attempt to answer the question of how the observed variation came to be. What are the societal conditions that precipitated the development of varieties of educational settings? Both a historical analysis and a study of the effects of social change are called for in this context.

Some observations on these two dimensions were offered above.

c) An effort should be made to map potential and actual outcomes of different educational settings, both on the individual and the collective levels and a linkage between the analytical properties and the substantive content of the outcomes should be established. Some preliminary thoughts on this subject were presented above.

Israel, with its wide variety of residential educational forms, a sample of which we visited, constitutes an ideal setting for comparative research in this promising field.

APPENDIX

SOME FACTS AND FIGURES ON FORMAL AND INFORMAL EDUCATION IN ISRAEL

(Data collected by Prof. R. Shapira)

FRAMEWORKS FOR INFORMAL EDUCATION

	Youth Movements	Community centres "MATNAS"	Youth clubs & centres (out of school)	School clubs	Residential Institutions	Kibbutzim
Number of Institutions	1106 groups in 13 youth movements (in 1973)	49 (in 1976)	275 (in 1971)	440 (in 1971)	314 (in 1971)	
Type of activities	games and general activities, ideological education, scouting, etc.	cultural and social circles for children (alongside activities for adults)	entertainment, sport and vocational circles, group activities, etc.	supervised groups for preparing lessons and extracurricular activities	Type of Institution General Edu. 20% Agricultural Edu. 8% Vocational Edu. 10% Special Edu. 15% Unspecified 47%	Kibbutzim often have residential units for children from outside the kibbutz or incorporate them in the general framework
Enrollment	200,000	133,000	67,000	70,000	42,000	3,000
Age group	10-18	All	mainly 10-18	7-14	(% of members in each age group) 0-6 1% 6-14 32% 14-18 67%	

FRAMEWORKS FOR INFORMAL EDUCATION (cont.)

	Youth Movements	Community centres "MATNAS"	Youth clubs & centres (out of school)	School clubs	Residential Institutions	Kibbutzim
Percentage of membership of Oriental origin	30%	most	67%	65%	most	most
Political and religious orientation	72% members (57% movements) labour oriented, 28% members (43% movements) religious or right-wing	none	none	according to school's supervision	Non-religious: 59% students (55% institutions) Religious: 26% students (19% institutions) Unspecified: 15% students (25% institutions)	Only 18% of all kibbutzim are religious
Staff	young kibbutz members, of older age groups	graduates of special courses for instructors from the local community; (Directors: higher education & special courses)	teachers & graduates of special courses for instructors	school teachers, high school pupils	teachers: students and graduates of special courses	members of the kibbutz
Type of locality	urban & rural	developing towns and suburbs	mainly urban, some in developing towns	urban & rural	urban & rural	
Supervision or ownership	kibbutz movements, Jewish Agency, government	government & local authorities	government, local authorities, public organizations	government (mainly), local authorities, public organizations	public organizations (mainly) government, local authorities, private	Youth Aliyah Department of the Jewish Agency Kibbutz members

PUPILS IN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION AND COUNTRY OF ORIGIN (HEBREW EDUCATION) 1969/70, 1976/77 (IN PERCENTAGES)

	1969/70				1976/77			
	Total N	Israel*	Asia-Africa	Europe America	Total N	Israel	Asia-Africa	Europe America
Municipal and public kindergarten	713,895 107,668	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	901,192 147,757	27%	48%**	25%
Primary Education	394,354	12%	61%	27%	401,870	20%	56%	24%
Intermediate schools	7,908				60,133	15%	57%	28%
Post-primary education	129,436	10%	43%	47%	134,737	15%	51%	34%
Teacher training colleges	5,083	7%	32%	61%	11,685	10%	38%	52%
Post-secondary institutions	6,900				19,430			
Academic institutions	36,246				52,780			
Other***	26,300				72,900			

Source: Statistical Abstract of Israel No. 29, Central Bureau of Statistics, 1978, pp. 661, 671, 688
* Israel-born, classified according to father's country of birth
** estimated
*** e.g. private kindergartens

PUPILS AGED 14-17 IN SCHOOLS BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND TYPE OF SCHOOL (HEBREW EDUCATION) 1969/70, 1976/77 (RATES PER 1000 IN THE RESPECTIVE GROUP OF THE JEWISH POPULATION)

	1969/70	1976/77
Primary education		
Asia-Africa	107	40
Europe-America	42	19
Intermediate schools		
Asia-Africa		99
Europe-America		91
Post-primary education		
Asia-Africa	442	538
Europe-America	775	706

Source: Statistical Abstract of Israel No. 29, Central Bureau of Statistics, 1978, p. 677.

RATES OF ENROLLMENT IN ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS AMONG THE 20-29* AGE GROUP BY CONTINENT OF BIRTH (JEWS) 1974/75, 1969/70, (RATES PER 10,000 AGED 20-29* IN THE JEWISH POPULATION)

	1969/70	1974/75
Age		
20 - 24	814	898
25 - 29	352	511
Continent of birth		
Israel born - total	989	951
Father born in Israel	746	997
Father born in Asia-Africa	246	299
Father born in Europe-America	1,262	1,405
Born in Asia-Africa	161	211
Born in Europe-America	976	842

Source: Statistical Abstract of Israel No. 29, Central Bureau of Statistics, 1978, p. 687.

* Most students belong to this age group (about 76% in 1974/75).

THE OBJECTIVES OF INFORMAL EDUCATION

	Youth Movements	Community Centres	Youth Clubs and Centres	School Clubs	Residential Institutions	Kibbutzim
a. Increasing social mobility through education for individual achievement	+ (now) - (formerly)	-	+	+	some*	+ (now) - (formerly)
b. Strengthening the sense of community	+	+	-	-	-	++
c. "Social education" (group-orientated activities	+	+	+	-	+	+
d. Education toward specifically Israeli values	++	-	-	-	some*	++
e. Types and extent of social control	Low				High	

* Some Residential Institutions do not provide formal education.